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THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

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What Leading Americans Have Said on Right-to-Work

Sen. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN (R.-Ill.), Senate Minority Leader: "A diligent effort has been under way for quite some time to have Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act repealed, but I have steadfastly and consistently advised all labor leaders and delegations who have come to see me about this that under no circumstances would I undertake to vote to repeal this section."

Rep. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.), House Minority Leader: "I do not favor repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. Furthermore, all Republicans should be against repealing 14b and I think most of them will be. It seems to me that those states which wish to enact right-to-work laws should have the authority to do so. As a party we must be concerned, deeply and actively concerned, with the executive and judicial efforts to capture the constitutional functions of the legislative branch—either federal or state."

Prof. SYLVESTER PETRO, New York University School of Law: "If unions persist in complaining about free riders, the proper thing to do is to repeal the provision [of federal law] which makes them bargaining representatives for employes who do not want them. That provision is bad on principle, anyway."

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Founder of the American Federation of Labor: "There may be here and there a worker who for certain reasons unexplainable to us does not join a union of labor. This is his right no matter how morally wrong he may be. It is his legal right and no one can or dare question his exercise of that legal right. . . ." "I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible."

DAVID O. McKAY, President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: "We believe it is fundamental that the right of voluntary unionism should once again be re-established in this nation, and that state right-to-work laws should be maintained inviolate."

Sen. HARRY F. BYRD (D.-Va.): "I shall oppose repeal of authorization for right-to-work laws with all my strength and ability. I regard the right to work as I do the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If labor leaders desire to repeal right-to-work laws, they can make their proposals in the states involved. That would be an orderly and constitutional procedure under our form of government. It would be far more democratic than blitzkrieg nullification by the federal government."

WARREN S. STONE, former Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers: "I do not believe in forcing a man to join a union. If he wants to join, all right; but it is contrary to the principles of free government and the Constitution of the United States to try to make him join."

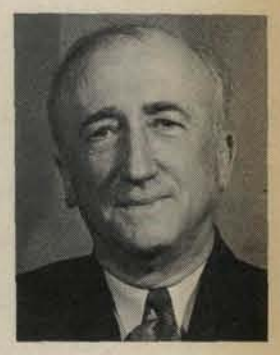
WALTER KNOTT, President, Knott's Berry Farm: "The principle of what we call 'voluntary unionism' is so simple and straightforward, I find it hard to understand what the fuss is all about. Our religious heritage, our American heritage, and plain common sense are all on the side of freedom of choice. We talk about 'the party of our choice,' 'the work of our choice'—all of which means we are personally responsible for deciding how we shall spend our lives. The whole American idea is the protection of our individual freedom to make these choices. You are protected from any attempt I might make to interfere with your freedom, just as I am protected from your interference with mine. . . . As I see it, voluntary unionism is simply a way of protecting individual freedom in one crucial area of life. It simply means that nobody is allowed to force you to join or not to join a union. The decision is up to you, just as it is up to you to decide on a church or a political party. The fact we even have to talk about a law to keep membership voluntary is a disturbing sign that we have strayed from our American and Christian ideal of individual responsibility and freedom."

Sen. FRANK J. LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio): "I think the right to work in our country is just as sacred as the right to vote and the right to jury trial. I don't believe any organization in our country should be vested with the right and the power to say to any American, 'You shall not work unless you join my organization.'"

BARRY M. GOLDWATER: "The contention is that a man ought not to enjoy the benefits of an organization's activities unless he contributes his fair share of the cost. I am unaware, however, of any other organization or institution that seeks to enforce this theory by compulsion. The Red Cross benefits all of us, directly or indirectly, but no one suggests that Red Cross donations be made compulsory. It is one thing to say that a man should contribute to an association that is purportedly acting in his interest; it is quite another thing to say that he must do so. I believe that a man ought to join a union if it is a good union that is serving the interests of its members. I believe, moreover, that most men will give support to a union provided it is deserving of that support. There will always be some men, of course, who will try to sponge off others; but let us not express our contempt for some men by denying freedom of choice to all men."

Gov. ALBERTIS S. HARRISON of Virginia: "The economic and industrial progress we have enjoyed in America has been the result of our system of free enterprise and the exercise of that freedom of choice which is basic to our way of life and which certainly is essential to the maintenance of the welfare, dignity and independence of the working man. The underlying philosophy of right-to-work laws is the same as that which brought many of the early settlers to these shores—the belief that man should be the master of his own destiny and enjoy the opportunity of making those decisions which largely determine the direction and fruitfulness of his efforts. . . . The freedom to work, to support one's family and to embrace opportunities for advancement, without fear of coercion or reprisal, regardless of membership or nonmembership in any labor organization, is a vital part of our inheritance and must be transmitted intact to our successors if we are able to say we have met our responsibility."

JAMES F. BYRNES of South Carolina, former Congressman, Senator, Supreme Court Justice, Secretary of State and Governor: "A working man must have the right to join a labor union. It is equally important that a worker have the right to refuse to join a union and that no government or union should have the right to force him to join in order to get a job. The Taft-Hartley law contains a provision recognizing the right of a state to enact legislation ensuring a working man or woman the right to work. That law was enacted by the Congress over the veto of a President, which required a two-thirds vote. It was the voice of America. While I was serving as governor of South Carolina, I advocated the enactment of a right-to-work law. It was overwhelmingly adopted. The day before favorable action by the legislature, an organizer of a labor union was quoted as advising legislators that should the bill be enacted into law, within 6 days it would cause strikes in many industries. The gentleman was mistaken. The record shows that in the year following the enactment of the law there were fewer strikes and fewer labor controversies than in previous years, and in 1961 in South Carolina the number of man-hours lost because of strikes was less than in any other state of the Union."



LUTHER HODGES, former Governor of North Carolina and former Secretary of Commerce: "I am convinced that North Carolina's right-to-work law has attracted business and stabilized employment. I favor the right-to-work laws."

Capt. EDDIE RICKENBACKER, former Board Chairman of Eastern Airlines: "Basically, the issue of compulsory unionism poses the question of whether we really believe in individual freedom—the cornerstone upon which this nation was founded. Industrial freedom is just as important to the survival of this nation as was the religious freedom sought by Roger Williams, the political freedom which was the goal of George Washington, or the personal freedom which Abraham Lincoln established in his Emancipation Proclamation. The desire to make unwilling workers pay a share of the financial obligations voluntarily assumed by other workers is no excuse for sacrificing the great freedoms for which Americans have fought, suffered and died. Indeed, it is a bitter mockery of American history that some Americans today are willing to sacrifice other Americans' freedoms simply for the forcible collection of union dues. Our priceless heritage of freedom should never be bartered away. It should not be sold so cheaply."

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, late U. S. Supreme Court Justice: "It is not true that the successes of labor unions necessarily mean a perfect monopoly. The union, in order to attain and preserve for its members industrial liberty, must be strong and stable. It need not include every member of the trade. Indeed, it is desirable for both the employer and the union that it should not. Absolute power leads to excesses and to weakness. Neither our character nor our intelligence can long bear the strain of unrestricted power. . . . The American people should not, and will not, accept unionism if it involves the closed shop. They will not consent to the exchange of the tyranny of the employer for the tyranny of the employe."

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Uncle Sam wants to build more dams like this TVA Muscle Shoals dam despite the fact that private companies say they can do it at less cost.

Bureaucracy Expands

More Federal Power Projects

From the Richmond *News Leader*

The Council of State Chambers of Commerce recently examined a few proposals contained in the President's "bare-bones" budget for fiscal 1966, and discovered three power projects that the council says are completely unnecessary and wasteful. The costs of these projects range from $180,000 to $132 million.

Funds for the first project, covering the cost of constructing a transmission substation at Hillsboro, N.D., have been frozen by the comptroller general under the provisions of the Keating Amendment. This amendment forbids the Bureau of Reclamation to construct transmission facilities in areas covered by private power company contracts that can supply federal establishments.

The Bureau of Reclamation is asking Congress to release the $180,000 required to construct the substation, regardless of the fact that the private power company that supplies wholesale power to the Hillsboro system can supply the power.

In addition, it would cost the Bureau of Reclamation two and one half times as much to deliver its own power as it would cost the private company to supply it.

The second project involves the Southwestern Power Administration, which acts as the Interior Department's power marketing agency in four Midwestern and Southwestern states. Although Congress previously has expressed its desire to have the SWPA use existing private transmission facilities whenever possible, the agency's 1966 budget contains a request for $4.5 million with which SWPA would construct 550 miles of transmission lines. The final cost of this project has been estimated at $16.434 million.

Eight investor-owned companies in the area served by SWPA have advised Congress that their systems already cover the area where the new lines would be strung, and that they can handle the need for additional power transmission without difficulty.

The third project, the largest, calls for an initial expenditure of $1 million to cover the costs of surveys and blueprints for a 500-mile high voltage line to run from McNary Dam in Oregon to Alexander, Idaho. The final cost of this project has been estimated at $132 million.

Although both the House and Senate last year rejected this proposal, the Bonneville Power Administration has renewed its request for the $1 million on the grounds that private companies have refused to transmit the needed power.

However, two private companies that serve the affected area have indicated their willingness to negotiate a contract with BPA to supply whatever amount of power is needed. Moreover, the private companies estimate that this power can be provided at a cost of $89 million less over the next 20 years than it would cost the government to build new lines.

In reviewing these proposals, the council concluded that they represent a desire on the part of bureaucrats to expand their empires. The council also wonders how many other such projects might be inflating the 1966 budget total beyond the "stern priorities" demanded by President Johnson. Doubtless there are many more. But then that's how federal power grows.

□ □ □

NOVEL TEST—"That's a wonderful idea that Kansas newspaper has—to divide up the United States, putting the free enterprisers in one half of the nation and the welfare staters and incipient Socialists in the other half. Each half would be free to have the kind of government it prefers. If such an experiment could be accomplished, it isn't hard to forecast the results. Within no time at all, the economy on the free enterprise side of the national dividing line would be booming, its culture flourishing and its people free and optimistic. On the welfare side of the line, the people would be so busy robbing each other to finance their so-called 'social gains,' that they would have no time to produce wealth of any kind. Would any of our devotees to the 'Great Society' concept care to risk this test?" —Ernest Joiner in the Sebastopol (Calif.) *Times*

Frustrated?

Send for "That Man From Minnesota," a study of Hubert Humphrey, the ADA, Mussolini. 1 @ 75¢, 3 @ $2, 10 @ $5, 25 @ $10, 50 @ $18, 100 @ $30, 1000 @ $200. The Spirit of '76 House, Box 308-66, Holliston, Mass.

Rent-Subsidy Plan

Funny Business in Housing

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Two possibilities are repeatedly voiced in regard to getting out from under the "Great Society," both of them horribly unacceptable: a military defeat and a financial depression.

But there's a third, often thought, though rarely expressed: liberation by lunacy. Example: the Administration's proposal to make us a nation of kept men through its plan to subsidize rents.

Exit, laughing? This year's housing bill (H.R. 5840) is goofy enough to get a political party ridden out of town on a rail of ridicule. Such a departure would be neither uncommon nor un-American. Absurdity has given many an idea and personality the boot. That's what happened to Henry Wallace and the Progressive party, which he called Gideon's Army. It happened to the Prohibition Amendment, which was for years the stock standby of the vaudeville circuit. Henry Ford's peace ship for ending World War I made it impossible ever again to take that tycoon seriously, and last summer's topless bathing suit was doing all right until it ran into the jokes about it.

The bare facts of the rent supplemental (the term "subsidy," as usual, is dodged) seem to relate the "Great Society's" determination to get credit for giving something to everybody. We have had a vast and growing housing program since 1937. It's not been for lack of effort that the do-gooders have not put a roof over the head of every voter. There is federalized housing for the indigent and for the elderly, for the handicapped and for the GIs, for the farmer and for the student.

You'd expect the Housing and Home Finance Agency to be in on domiciling the nation—but Defense Secretary McNamara has to divide his attention between missiles and door keys, and Agriculture Secretary Freeman has to worry about thresholds as well as acreage allotments.

The Johnson Administration drew hard on its imagination to find some class of Americans who could be supplied with housing. It hit upon the great American middle class. No, seriously, Ed Mendenhall, a witness who was speaking for the National Association of Real Estate Boards, testified that an equitable application of this plan for federalizing the rent would eventually include "at least 40 per cent of all families." The Housing Authority itself expects to subsidize some families with incomes of $6,900, although the national median income is only $6,249.

The rule of thumb, used by the Administration, is that a family spends one-fourth of its income on accommodation, and that if a family can't afford "decent" housing, the government will make up the difference. It sounds all right until you see how it works. It's possible to have two families side by side, in identical quarters, with one family eligible for a subsidy and the other ineligible. The second taxpayer, in effect, would be paying part of his neighbor's rent. It's possible for a $250-a-month family to live in accommodations that reflect a $400-a-month income merely by qualifying for the rent bonus.

It's only funny because it's so grossly unfair—like a hometown umpire calling a man safe at the plate when he's visibly out by a country mile. It's funny cuckoo, not funny ha-ha—an extravaganza estimated at a total cost of $40 billion by the eight House members who signed the minority report.

But the deeper criticism is that this plan for share-the-rent takes away the incentive which Americans normally feel to earn more money and improve their living standards. Why should a man expend his industry and ingenuity if his goals are to be accomplished for him by an act of Congress?

Moreover, the rent subsidy scheme appears to include a neighborhood informer system, which is enough in itself to cause the whole program to be hooted down. When asked how the government could check on persons who might get more than their share of rent supplement, Housing Administrator Robert Weaver volunteered:

"But your friends and neighbors would be very much concerned about this. They are the best investigators that you have in these projects."

I don't know if the committee members and spectators laughed when Dr. Weaver made this revealing remark. But the gods that watch over human liberties—I bet they laughed.

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Bobby Baker and the Ordeal of Sen. Williams

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

The Democrats on the Senate Rules Committee are undoubtedly sorry they ever had to handle the Bobby Baker affair, that still sizzling scandal which implicates so many of their brethren in high places. But they are probably even more unhappy that their chief antagonist has been Delaware's super-sleuth, Sen. John J. Williams (R.).

Ever since the Baker case was dropped into the committee's lap in October 1963, the majority members, who outnumber Republicans 6 to 3, have been doing their energetic best to cover up the evident crookery connected with it. (The Democrats on the committee are: B. Everett Jordan [N.C.], chairman; Carl Hayden [Ariz.]; Howard W. Cannon [Nev.]; Claiborne Pell [R. I.]; Joseph Clark [Pa.], and Robert C. Byrd [W. Va.].) Indeed, in the view of many, the behavior of these members has been far more scandalous than Baker's because of the high positions of trust they presently hold.

But however eager they were to drown the whole thing in buckets of whitewash, the awesome, probing figure of non-committee member Sen. Williams was always around to make sure they couldn't.

Williams, it is well known, has made a reputation for himself by baring misdeeds in various government agencies, such as the Internal Revenue Service and the Department of Agriculture. He spares neither friend nor foe, Republican nor Democrat. And, plainly, Williams has been a most uncomfortable bone in the throat of those protecting Bobby Baker and Co.

It was Williams who sparked the "investigation"—or what there was of it—in the first place. It was Williams who brought to the attention of the Senate charges that Baker, when secretary to the majority under Senate leader Lyndon Johnson, had been involved in massive influence-peddling and other governmental hanky-panky. Baker, of course, chose to take the 5th Amendment when finally asked to answer the charges against him.

And if it was Don Reynolds, an associate of Baker's in a Maryland insurance firm, who spilled most of the beans in the Baker affair, it was Williams who had urged Reynolds to talk in the first place.

Reynolds' testimony was highly provocative. Among other things, Reynolds charged Baker with having "persuaded" Reynolds to purchase an expensive stereo set for Lyndon Johnson when LBJ was majority leader of the Senate. Reynolds also accused former LBJ aide Walter Jenkins, then an officer of the Johnson-owned TV station in Austin, of coercing Reynolds' Maryland insurance firm to buy $1,200 worth of unneeded advertising on the Austin station in return for Johnson's having taken out $200,000 worth of life insurance with Reynolds' firm. Such "kickback" practices are illegal.

Jenkins, in a sworn statement, first denied pressuring Reynolds and added that he had "no knowledge . . . of any arrangement by which Reynolds purchased advertising time on the TV station." But in an affidavit prepared especially for the Rules Committee (whose Democratic majority refused to call him up and allow him to be cross-examined), Jenkins shifted his story.

Now he said that Johnson had decided to make Reynolds his insurance agent because "the Reynolds firm had lower rates . . . was more convenient . . . and was willing to buy advertising."

And it was Williams, finally, who produced a photostat of a check revealing that contractor Matthew McCloskey, fund-raiser for the Democratic party, had definitely overpaid Reynolds some $35,000 on the performance bond for building the District of Columbia Stadium, $25,000 of which Reynolds swears was illegally channeled into the Democratic party through Baker.

(McCloskey denies he purposely made any overpayment to Reynolds, alibiing that his company committed a "goof." Some goof. McCloskey didn't notice it for over four years, and then only

Bobby Baker took the 5th Amendment when asked to answer the charges against him.

after it had been brought to his attention through the probings of Sen. Williams.)

With Williams smoking out such goings-on, something had to be done. At first there was pressure on him to "lay off" the Baker affair. Then Williams found mail from government agencies to him being intercepted and monitored by the Rules Committee without his permission.

President Johnson was so disenchanted with the senator he felt impelled to venture into three-electoral-vote Delaware to call upon its citizens to turn Williams out of office.

And the smear-mongers had their "day in court." Rules Committee General Counsel Lennox McClendon referred to Williams, whose reputation for honesty is legendary, as a "liar" and counter-investigators, according to nationally syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander, began combing the Agriculture Department files to "get something" on the Delaware senator, who owns a fair chunk of farm land.

The pro-Johnson *Newsweek* magazine printed a dirty insinuation by quoting Baker's late friend (and also a 5th Amendment pleader), Carole Tyler, as having seen "at 6:30 a.m. in a roadside diner with a lady—not his wife—an unnamed senator" whom "newspapermen have elevated to moral watchdog of the nation."

But such pressure and character assassination wasn't enough to defeat Williams last November or get him to divert his attention from the Baker affair. A new smear attack against the senator could have been predicted—and it arrived on May 13.

On that date the newspapers were leaked a secret, 100-page draft report, drawn up by Senate Rules Committee Counsel McClendon.

This "phantom" report not only attempted to discredit Reynolds and his testimony, even though much of it had been borne out by the facts, but it put its stilettoes into Williams, and, in effect, accused him of lying in several instances and withholding valuable information from the committee.

The report was skillfully leaked in order to embarrass the senator. It hit the press at the time Williams was going home for the weekend. The first story appeared in the Delaware newspapers on Saturday morning and said Williams could not be reached. By the afternoon editions, the reporters had reached Williams, but said that he had no comment to make on it. Thus it might have appeared as if Williams were afraid to answer the charges.

(As Williams, however, reasonably remarks: "How can one comment on something that is leaked out when the committee itself had not had the decency to tell me about the report or send me a copy of it?")

Furthermore, the report, prepared by a key staff member, gave the impression that it represented the views of all the Democrats on the Rules Committee.

If the Democrats had knocked Williams off balance, it was not for long. Within days, he had prepared a point by point refutation of allegations contained in the "phantom" report and not only requested, but begged the majority members of the Rules Committee to debate him on the floor. His honor, he contended, had been challenged.

But no member was willing to engage Williams in argument. No member of the Rules Committee would say where Williams lied or misled the committee. But neither would they publicly repudiate the document.

The Senate's heart-bleedingest liberal, Pennsylvania's Joseph Clark, was the most intrepid of the six, venturing a cautious comment about the report. Would Clark, who constantly speaks out against alleged smears of liberals, repudiate a report that was prepared by a committee of which he is a member and that impugned the integrity of someone as honest as Sen. Williams? Well, no.

Said Clark: "As I leave the chamber I say to my colleague [Sen. Hugh Scott] that there is nothing to withdraw, because nothing has been adopted, and that the majority members of the committee have been considering drafts—new drafts and old drafts—of the report, which perhaps most of us would agree to . . ."

When Sen. Williams attempted to put one question to Clark, the senator literally ran from the Senate chamber. Observed Williams: "I know there are jackrabbits in Kansas, but I do not think they can run any faster than the senator. He is already out the door."

Thus do the Rules Committee Democrats allow themselves to be part of a conspiracy to smear one of the Senate's most honest men. And only a few other Democrats have risen to Williams' defense.

It is true, of course, that the final report adopted by the majority, approved just last week, did expunge the references to Williams, but no one expected anything else in the *final* version. No one really believed any of the Democratic senators on the Rules Committee would be so bold as to attach, officially, his name to a document challenging Williams' integrity. Not at all.

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) has been the victim of many smears and much hounding since he first blew the whistle on Baker.

The purpose of the "phantom" report was only to make sure the charges against Williams would get thoroughly aired in the press and thus leave the indelible impression upon the public that Williams had pulled a fast one and couldn't be trusted.

And the very fact that none of the Democrats on the Rules Committee have forthrightly repudiated the phantom report indicates they were hardly sorry about the whole thing.

But Williams finds more at stake than his own integrity. For he believes the "Great Society" is on trial. He says:

"We do not need different laws. What we need is enforcement without favoritism. Yet, the Department of Justice has been piddling around for a year.

"There are laws against filing a false financial statement—as Mr. Baker did—to obtain a government loan. Yet has he been prosecuted? No, he has not even been criticized in this report for such actions . . .

"Any man who is a public official and has $50,000 to $100,000 in $100 bills stashed away in his government office should be required to answer the question by a congressional committee of 'Where did you get that money?'

"Why has not more emphasis been placed on determining where Mr. Baker got the $100,000 in cash? Why has not more interest been expressed in the fact that here was an employe of the U.S. government, one who served as secretary of the majority of the Senate, and who during a span of four years by his own statements had pyramided his net worth from $84,000 to over $2 million and all while drawing a $19,000 salary and creating but a negligible tax liability?

"Over the 18 years I have been in this body I have had previous experience developing instances of wrongdoing, yet I have never experienced as much resistance to full disclosure as that which I have experienced in the last 12 or 18 months in trying to get information concerning Mr. Baker's activities.

"I know the minority members of the committee do not defend Bobby Baker, but if one reads the report he will find the majority almost apologizing that they have to criticize him. They give the impression that, after all, he was wrong, and they do not like it, but he really violated no laws.

"Mr. President, if he violated no laws we are in bad shape. . . .

(Continued on Page 8)

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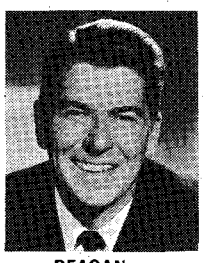
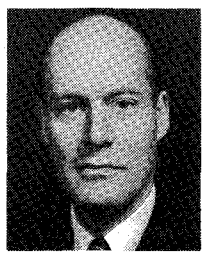
CAPITOL CAMERA

• In that GOP fund-raising affair in Ohio last week, observers on the scene say the speech by conservative actor-politician Ronald Reagan was one of the big hits of the evening. Reagan spoke in Cincinnati and was one of several Republicans who appeared on a closed-circuit television network hooked up to a number of cities across the state. The previous day Reagan wowed a rally at Dennison University Field House in Granville, Ohio, where some 3,500 people had flocked to pay tribute to John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio). One commentator said that Reagan was received with one of the "most tumultuous ovations" he had ever seen given any politician.


REAGAN

• *New York Mayor Robert Wagner's surprise decision not to run for re-election will give a big boost to liberal GOP Rep. John V. Lindsay's chances, observers feel. Another impact of the Wagner announcement, however, may be Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's takeover of the cumbersome New York state Democratic machine, thus boosting his attempts to challenge Vice President Hubert Humphrey as LBJ's successor.*

• Capitol observers are noting with great interest Atty. Gen. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach's recent speech at Tufts University in Medford, Mass., in which he seemed to approve of young persons demonstrating "in some areas of social concern." "Their militancy and deep involvement—most often in the causes of civil rights and world peace—are healthy and commendable," he stated. Demonstrations, he added, should not be undertaken as a "casual adventure, but seriously and for valid purposes. They should express not just a weekend commitment, but a weekday commitment and a lifetime commitment."


KATZENBACH

• *TV producer David Susskind is energetically supporting John Lindsay for mayor of New York. If Lindsay is elected, Susskind would then like to run for the vacant House seat as a Lindsay Republican. He is a registered Democrat.*

• According to Nationalist Chinese sources, the Viet Cong, the Laotian Pathet Lao and the Chinese Communists have established a joint military headquarters in Kunming, capital of Red China's Yunnan province. Last April North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong and Laotian prince Souphanouvong conferred with Chinese leader Chou En-lai there. These same sources also report that Red China has completed renovation of first-line air bases near the North Viet Nam border and has abolished conventional ranks in the armed forces. The purpose of the latter move is seen as an attempt to camouflage possible direct Chinese Communist intervention in Southeast Asia.

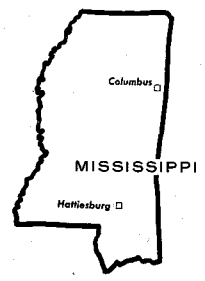
PHAM

• *An influential national magazine for camera fans,* Modern Photography, *has appealed to readers to donate cameras and accessories to the Communist-infiltrated Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. SNCC has had photographers filming "civil rights" activity in the South for newspapers. As a result, some cameras are allegedly damaged by police clubs. These cameras are being repaired free of charge by a New York firm, Professional Camera Repair. It can be assumed that SNCC photos will give a less than balanced view of the now racially-troubled areas of the South.*

This Week in Washington

GOP Posts Victories

Former Sen. Barry Goldwater's much-rapped "Southern strategy"—a campaign effort to win the South to the GOP label—continues to pay off in handsome dividends. Last week two of Mississippi's largest cities, Columbus and Hattiesburg, Gov. Paul Johnson's home town, ousted two Democratic mayors and replaced them with Republicans. This was the GOP's first grass-roots test in the Magnolia State and they are the first Republican mayors since Reconstruction. Six other Republicans captured aldermanic posts in four municipalities.



State GOP chairman Wirt Yerger called the Republican victories a "history-making breakthrough" and predicted they would have "tremendous impact on the progress" of the GOP in the state. "They have paved the way for many future victories," Yerger predicted.

Hattiesburg attorney Paul Grady turned out incumbent Mayor Claude Pittman by a vote of 2,428 to 1,828. R.D. Harmond whipped incumbent Mayor William J. Propst in Columbus, 1,394 to 1,191.

• Mississippi is not the only Southern state where Republicans are making headway; in Louisiana, the GOP is also making a showing. Caddo Parish, as a result of elections some weeks ago, now boasts a Republican police juror, and Republican Dewey Raborn now sits in a city-parish councilman's seat in historically Democratic East Baton Rouge.

Raborn's victory, according to George Harris, assistant to Louisiana's state GOP chairman, was particularly significant. "It is the first time in this century that a Republican has been elected in East Baton Rouge and is probably the first time since Reconstruction days." Raborn, he adds, also won in a strong labor area and Democrats easily outspent him.

"Mr. Raborn," he continues, "did not run as a segregationist, states righter or an independent, but as a Republican, campaigning on local issues such as drainage, zoning, better roads and the need for a two-party system in Louisiana, pointing out that competition in government assures better government to all concerned."

Furthermore, says Harris, Raborn won in an area which the Republican candidate for governor, Charlton H. Lyons, failed to carry just 14 months ago. Harris chalks up the win to a good candidate, good organization and the growing Republicanism in the South.

Right-to-Work

The bill to repeal right-to-work cleared its first major hurdle last week as members of the House Education and Labor Committee approved the proviso by a 21-to-10 vote. Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) said he would not seek immediate House action on the measure, however, until the House supports legislation strengthening the ban in the 1964 civil rights law against racial discrimination by unions.

The fight over repeal, however, is far from lost and congressional members favoring retention of right-to-work urge voters to continue pressuring their representatives on the issue.

• Are the union bosses against freedom of religion? Many congressmen wonder if that's the case after listening last week to testimony from representatives of religious groups. Spokesmen for fundamentalist religious sects asked Congress for a law exempting their members from labor-management contracts that require workers to join a union.

Cyril F. Dadd, representing the Plymouth Brethren, said that his co-religionists believed union membership was forbidden by the Bible.

W. Melvin Adams, representing 350,000 Seventh-Day Adventists, remarked that his church had tried unsuccessfully to work out financial agreements with unions which would not offend its religious tenets.

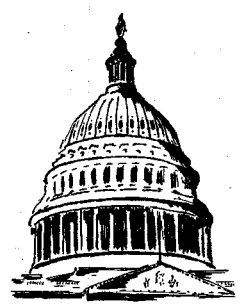
"If this bill is passed out of committee without an amendment protecting citizens with religious convictions, the religious security of thousands of persons will continue to be jeopardized in 31 states, and thousands more will be added to the list in states where 'right to work' laws have in the past afforded a measure of protection."

• A Negro electrical contractor testified last week in support of 14b. C.F. Smith of Houston told the subcommittee that he spoke "not as a so-called leader of the Negro people, but as an individual who has been directly subjected to some of the vicious tactics of the unions." Smith said that he and his workers have been "fortunate" to have been protected by Texas' right-to-work statute. Workers in his shop have attempted to join the union, he said, but have never had their applications acted upon. "In spite of this, the unions have picketed our jobs, and a number of clients have been harrassed because they elected to use our services in lieu of union electrical contractors."

• Right-to-work proponents are also pointing to LBJ's own vote record on 14b to bolster their own case. As a member of the House, Johnson voted in favor of Taft-Hartley, even though it contained the famous right-to-work clause. On June 20, 1947, he went so far as to vote to override President Harry S. Truman's veto of Taft-Hartley. As a senator, LBJ continued to favor right-to-work. When the Democrats attempted to strip section 14b from Taft-Hartley on June 30, 1949, Johnson voted with the majority to retain the provision.

Demos Push Own Propaganda

House Democrats, arrogant and cocky with their numerical majority, have just rammed through a measure giving the United States Information Agency the green light to brainwash the American public with Democratic propaganda. By a 311-to-75 margin, they voted last week to allow commercial distribution in the United States of the agency's film, "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums."



The measure was endorsed in spite of an opinion by the comptroller general of the United States that "there is no statutory authority for the production of films by USIA exclusively or primarily for domestic distribution."

However esthetic or artfully done, the film, if shown on a mass basis to the American people, would be nothing less than a propaganda windfall for Democrats throughout the nation.

Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen, a "moderate" Republican from New Jersey, points out that "there is a serious question about the content of the film . . . unquestionably there is a propaganda slanting of what is presented. It is not simply fact . . . the implication is quite clear that no President before John F. Kennedy did anything significant in the field of civil rights. Also in the area of exploration of outer space, the film has a demonstration of the fizzling of a rocket on a launching pad before the Kennedy Administration took over—at which the audience laughs. But as soon as the President takes over, you get the impression of youth and vigor and a new way of accomplishing things."

The film, thus, is historical fancy. Not only does it glorify the Kennedy personality, but it daintily skips over his failures like the Bay of Pigs.

Observes Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.): "This is a natural political vehicle. Why? Because in discussing President Kennedy, you are not discussing a man who is totally consigned to the pages of history. You are discussing a man who is still a

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partisan political figure . . . President Kennedy is a present political force and there is no doubt in my mind but that the majority and its echelons throughout the country will make deliberate and maximum political use of this film."

Rep. H. Allen Smith (R.-Calif.) argues that the USIA was established to "create a more favorable attitude toward the United States in other countries. It is a propaganda agency. Thus, to use this film in this country, which film was designed for propaganda purposes overseas, would set an undesirable precedent."

Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb had this comment: "The USIA has been characterized as an innocent bystander in this controversy, proud the film is a success but maintaining a hands-off policy on the question of domestic viewing." But Lipscomb feels "this is a completely inaccurate and erroneous picture."

The USIA less than two years ago, he says, tried its very best to attempt to justify a contract it had entered into for the showing of one of its films in the United States, advancing a farfetched claim that the domestic showing of its film was "in furtherance of the overseas information program."

This occurred, said Lipscomb, just a few weeks "before the film being discussed today was planned."

Republicans also charge that the Democratic majority bulled the bill through the House Foreign Affairs Committee without any reasonable consideration. Only eight of the 36 members on the committee had seen the film when the committee approved its showing; no hearings were held; little, if any, discussion was permitted in the committee. For several days there was no quorum, and on the one day a quorum was present the resolution was hurriedly reported out of committee.

The committee, furthermore, was given no estimate of the cost to the taxpayer of producing the film. Nor did the majority even try to elicit the views of the presidentially appointed Advisory Commission of the USIA. And so, if the Senate concurs, the taxpayers will soon be seeing Democratic propaganda produced by a government agency.

Dominican Crisis

The Dominican crisis continues to look confused, with the United States now standing accused of engineering a stalemate between the anti-Communist government and the Communist-infiltrated rebels for the purpose of setting up that old State Department favorite: the coalition government.

The pro-Western Dominican government, headed by Brig. Gen. Antonio Imbert-Barrera, has sent a sharp letter of protest to President Johnson warning him that unless the Dominican government is allowed to put down the Communist insurgents, all of Latin America will be in dire peril.

(Latin sources, by the way, say that most of the attacks against Imbert have been unfair and report that he is now working closely with army commander Gen. Wessin y Wessin, considered one of the most honest and capable of Dominican leaders.)

Imbert's letter specifically charges that the White House and the Organization of American States have prevented the Dominican armed forces from winning the war against the Communists. It also charges that the line of communications initially established by American troops as a corridor to evacuate foreign nationals has been converted into a barrier which prevents the free movement of government military forces.

The letter also complains that Jose Antonio Mora, secretary general of the Organization of American States, exceeded his limited powers by ordering the seizure of the central bank and the ministry of finance.

This move by Mora, which received active support from United States troops, was another blow to the anti-Communists.

As a result of this action, the OAS took over the role of Dominican paymaster and ladled funds to Communist as well as non-Communist Dominican public employes.

The Chicago *Tribune's* Jules Dubois, on the scene in Santo Domingo, commented:

"Thus the rebel government, which did not exist in April, and the rebel Communist militia, were to be paid by concurrence of the United States."

Another observer, Paul Bethel, a former foreign service officer, has just returned from Santo Domingo. He writes that a number of Johnson advisers believe that rebel leader Francisco Caamano Deno is a "prisoner of the Communists," but that there is continuing pressure from the OAS to strike a bargain with the Caamano rebels. This appears to be the policy of the United States as well.

• LBJ's chief foreign policy adviser, McGeorge Bundy, is still believed supporting rebel choice Sr. Antonio Guzman, former aid to leftist Juan Bosch, to head a coalition government. Guzman was minister of agriculture under Bosch and was a director of the agricultural bank when it became involved in a financial scandal. The latest developments regarding the scandal reveal that the "bank" had illegally used U.S. counterpart funds.

Left-Wing Demos

Influential Democrats have joined with radical leftists and professed revolutionaries in a frontal attack on U.S. policy in South Viet Nam. That is the conclusion to be drawn from a marathon, 32-hour "teach-in" held at the University of California at Berkeley late last month.

Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) delivered a bitter attack on American policy. So did Si Cassady, president of the powerful Democratic Council and three members of the California State Legislature, all Democrats.

They appeared on the same program with individuals whose record of pro-Communist activity are chronicled in government files. Among them: Levi Laub, a leader of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party and Mike Myerson, international secretary of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.

• Twenty-eight Democratic members of Congress (listed below) were given front-page space by the June 8 *Worker*, official organ of the Communist party, for calling for public hearings on the Johnson Administration's foreign policy on Viet Nam. Few constitutionalists would deny that Congress should play a primary role in shaping our foreign policy. But the call for public hearings came from those obviously opposed to any hard-line policy, many of whom would use the hearings to assail a position of toughness against the Reds in Asia. The 28 calling for debate were: Jonathan Bingham, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, John G. Dow, Joseph Y. Resnick, William Fitts Ryan, Lester L. Wolff, and Leonard Farbstein, all of New York; George E. Brown, Philip Burton, Don Edwards, Edward S. Roybal and Ronald B. Cameron, all of California; John Conyers, Paul H. Todd, Weston E. Vivian and Charles C. Diggs, all of Michigan; Henry B. Gonzalez, Texas; Henry Helstoski, Paul J. Krebs and Edward J. Patten, all of New Jersey; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; Floyd V. Hicks, Washington; Robert W. Kastenmeier and Henry S. Reuss, both of Wisconsin; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii; and John R. Schmidhauser, Iowa.

Crackdown on Fraternities?

Existing civil rights legislation may now be applied in a new and radical way. The federal government, it seems, is not only interested in eliminating discrimination in public institutions, but in private and social clubs.

The Health, Education and Welfare Department, it has been revealed, is looking into ways to apply civil rights laws to private fraternities and sororities.

Under present law, HEW can see to it that colleges neither practice nor support discrimination. Many fraternities and sororities which do discriminate are, of course, permitted to use campus facilities supported with federal funds. Federal money also has gone into constructing fraternity and sorority housing.

There is now talk that HEW may threaten to withdraw funds from colleges and or the fraternities and sororities if the private groups continue to practice discrimination.

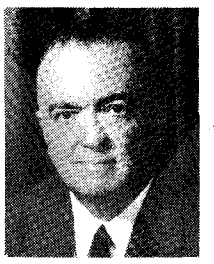
CAPITOL CAMERA

• The New York *Herald-Tribune* last week disclosed that Rep. Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.) has introduced legislation that would enable savings and loan associations to increase their revenues and "fatten their profits." Of particular interest is the fact that Pepper is an official and director of two savings and loan institutions—the Washington Federal Savings and Loan Association of Miami Beach and the Cape Kennedy Savings and Loan Association of Cape Kennedy.

PEPPER

• *The consumer price index rose again in April, to 109.3 per cent of the 1957-59 average. The April rise, three-tenths of 1 per cent, was the greatest single-month increase since July 1964. The Bureau of Labor statistics announced the April increase May 27. Almost every item that a city consumer buys showed an increase during the month. This means, in cash, that during April it took $10.93 to buy what could be purchased for $10 in 1957.*

• FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has disclosed that domestic Reds participated in the student march on Washington April 17 and are striving to start other demonstrations against U.S. foreign policy. "We can expect that the party will push for some type of nationwide action similar to 'peace' strikes or work stoppages to emphasize their aims," said Hoover. "These are the methods which have served Communist causes so well since the days of Lenin."


HOOVER

• Tocsin, *a leading anti-Communist publication on the West Coast, reports that a "Cuba visitor" now works for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in New York. She is Elizabeth Sutherland, a former member of the Castroite Fair Play for Cuba Committee who visited Castroland in 1961 with expenses partly paid by the Communist Cuban government.*

• Rep. Burt L. Talcott (R.-Calif.) says that in view of the fact that crops are spoiling because American farm owners can't find enough domestic pickers, many lawmakers are having second thoughts about the bracero program. "At least seven who voted last year to terminate Public Law 78—which authorized the entry of Mexican farm workers—have told me they would vote differently today. Many others have said they did not believe any secretary of labor would ever permit valuable food to rot in the fields for lack of harvest labor." Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz has been in the forefront of those against revival of the bracero program.

TALCOTT

• *Five state medical associations have gone on record urging physicians and surgeons not to cooperate with federal bureaucrats when the Medicare program goes into effect. They are Ohio, Florida, Louisiana, Texas and Arizona. Explains Dr. Francis A. Davis, president of the Oklahoma Board of Medical Examiners: "Non-participation is the one remaining means by which physicians can protect their patients from the deterioration of medical care resulting from socialized schemes."*

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Leading Argentine Newspaper Strongly Backs U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic

(Reprinted below is an editorial from the newspaper Los Principios *of Cordoba, Argentina, as it recently appeared in the Washington* Daily News. Los Principios *is one of the top newspapers in Argentina. Its publisher, Dr. Enrique Nores Martinez, is a former Argentine ambassador to Chile.)*

The issue at stake in the serious events taking place in the Dominican Republic is one of the greatest concerns to the Western Hemisphere; namely, how far, really, can the non-intervention principle be applied when faced with the Communist coup to establish this regime on American soil?

In recent times, during three consecutive meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Relations of the OAS, in Washington in 1951, Santiago, Chile, 1959 and San Jose, Costa Rica, 1960, a unanimous declaration was issued rejecting and opposing Marxist regimes as being absolutely incompatible with the forms of government and ways of life of countries in this hemisphere.

This rejection applied as well to these elements working from outside or within the continent to establish such a regime.

It must not be overlooked either, that later, in January, 1962, at the second conference of Punta del Este, Cuba was expelled from the OAS. This sanction was applied precisely for imposing a Marxist regime on its people by force.

The present struggle in Santo Domingo, where chaos and disorder were created once its government was deposed, has been characterized by the active participation of perfectly trained groups who acted amid the general confusion in ways similar to those employed in Cuba.

To alert observers the face of communism started to appear, as it did in Cuba.

In this intrinsically Pan-American problem which affects not one or several but all countries in this hemisphere, one of them was able to act unilaterally. It had in its possession reliable and conclusive information of such a serious nature that, added to this proximity to the country, it would imperil its own national security.

This measure, imposed only on a preventive basis and because of extreme urgency, was to be followed immediately by the joint action of the rest of the nations in the hemisphere. These would in either case ratify or rectify the former preventive unilateral action.

Can it possibly be maintained that the principle of non-intervention is a blind law, which instead of fulfilling the purpose for which it was created —which is that of defending the spiritual values of the continent—can be used on the contrary to destroy them?

Some decades ago the great Argentinean statesman Joaquin V. Gonzalez, in analysing this principle, quoted the wise Prof. Antoine Rougier as saying: "Non-intervention in its absolute form could only mean the consecration of the most barbaric tyrannies of those systems which are most repulsive to freedom and morality."

Therefore, a matter of international politics as delicate as the one posed by the Dominican case to the American hemisphere cannot be contemplated, much less solved, under an emotional state of mind which has its roots in past experiences, which occurred under conditions very different indeed from those existing in the world today, and particularly in this part of it.

To equate the present landing of troops with those that took place half a century ago would be a grave error which would only help to consolidate in this continent systems which all its nations have repudiated in their charters and treaties but which, nonetheless, seem to be allowed once they actually take place.

Maybe the hidden motive for this is none other than the one pointed out by the penetrating intellectual Gregorio Maranon, in his studies of the causes and forces involved in the bloody Spanish Civil War, which halted the spread of communism in Europe at the cost of one million casualties and extraordinary destruction to Spain.

Said Gregorio Maranon: "If the causes of this great catastrophe could be theoretically reduced to only one, I would not hesitate to say that this cause has been the gigantic misunderstanding of the liberals of the world, who originally represented the humanistic aspect of civilization.

"Now, in their majority, they have come to sympathize with the most anti-liberal and inhuman of all political doctrines which have ever existed—that of communism. I would say that today the majority of liberals suffer from Altonism; from color blindness for red."

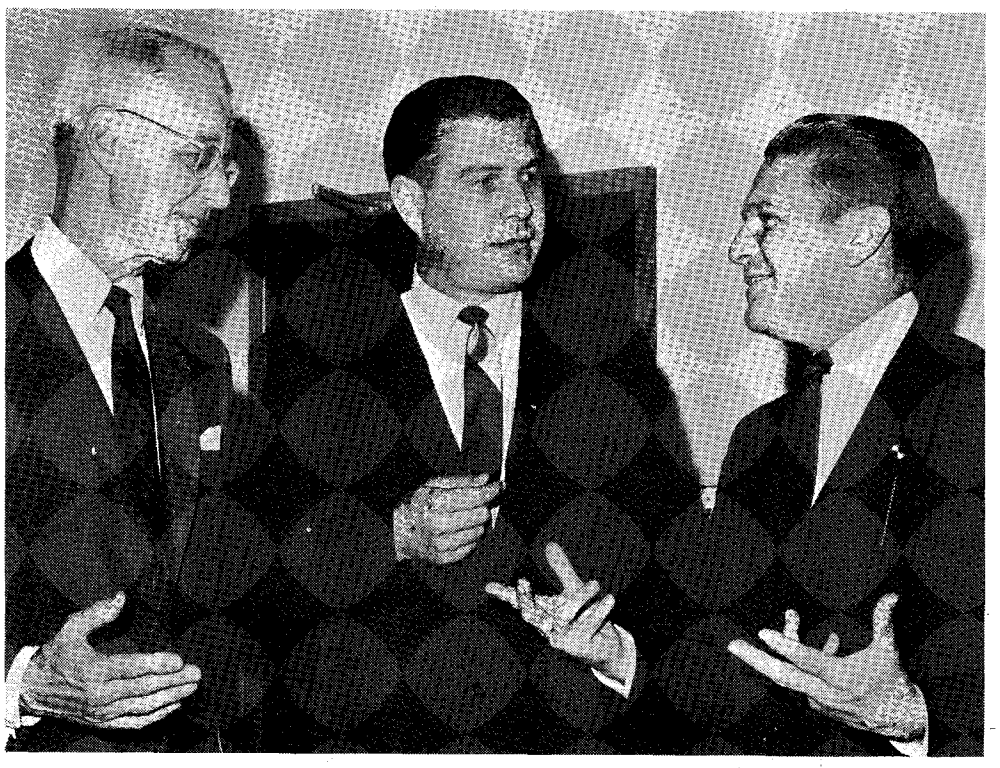
The ardent campaign immediately unleashed at the United Nations by Soviet Russia, China and Cuba in defense of the groups who have identified themselves as supporters of ex-President Bosch provides us with the last significant element in this analysis.

The determined and strong attitude assumed by the United States in the Dominican crisis constitutes a positive step in the defense of continental democracy.

In this matter it is necessary to speak clearly and decisively, leaving aside subtle interpretations or suspicious insistence on principles which were created to solve problems of a different nature.

We do not doubt that history will record this gesture of the United States as a ratification of its traditionally Western and Christian international policies.

The sad example of Cuba cannot and must never be repeated in America.



Three OAS representatives discuss the Dominican crisis. They are, from left, Ellsworth Bunker of the United States, Ramon de Clairmont of El Salvador and Elmar Penna Marinho of Brazil.

Coalition Government

Rusk Seeks the Impossible in Santo Domingo

By RUSSELL KIRK

Mr. Dean Rusk wants the Dominican Republic to adopt a new constitution by plebiscite. Since that unhappy little nation has run through three constitutions in the past few years, it is difficult to see how a mere piece of parchment could establish order and justice and freedom in a land that never has known effective democracy.

Also, Secretary Rusk demands a middle-ground solution of Dominican political hostilities, a middle-of-the-road coalition government, and "whatever is accepted by the Dominican people at the polls in a regularly constituted manner." Probably he might as well ask for a ton of green cheese from the moon.

It seems inconceivable that the Communist and fellow-travelling rebels,

Secretary of State Dean Rusk

stained with atrocities, could compromise upon a lasting government—or even a day's regime—with the generals and anti-Castro elements who now control all of the Dominican Republic except a few blocks of Santo Domingo.

It would have been no wilder to have demanded, nearly three decades ago, that Franco's Nationalists and the radical Spanish "Loyalists" lie down together like lamb and lion. And even if a show of conciliation were made briefly, Fidel Castro's agents soon would subvert that.

"Why not ask the Dominicans?" inquires our secretary of state. But the Dominicans decidedly have not known what they wanted ever since Spanish rule ended. And what if they should want Fidel Castro's puppet? At the end of the Weimar Republic, the Germans were asked what they wanted, and they chose Hitler.

Wondrously naive, Mr. Rusk's words reflect one of the worst failings of American foreign policy: the assumption that somehow, overnight, American political institutions and habits can be transferred to the ends of the earth. A responsible democracy in the Dominican Republic is no more conceivable than a Fidelista dictatorship in the United States.

Again and again, America has blundered after this fashion. Wanting a "moderate" government in China, we ceased to support Chiang Kai-shek—and got a Communist government.

Wanting a coalition and "neutralism" in Laos, we made the civil war there even more ferocious, with most of the country falling into the hands of the Communists.

Wanting a "democratic middle-ground solution" in South Viet Nam, our diplomats helped to destroy President Diem—and got a series of military juntas less able to resist the Communists.

In Santo Domingo today, nearly all OAS representatives from the Latin American countries, and the ambassadors from those states, agree that only the military triumph of one side or the other will establish peace in the Dominican Republic. They know their fellow Latin Americans.

Far from restraining Castro's admirers, U.S. troops in the Dominican capital have now got into the odd position of preventing Gen. Imbert's troops from putting down the radical rebels. (Imbert now has 20,000 soldiers under his command, as against the rebels' 2,000 to 3,000 troops and armed civilians.) The American-imposed cease-fire has only enabled the rebels to entrench themselves in the heart of the suffering city.

The Dominican Republic is not going to get democratic moderation from either side. But the country desperately craves peace; and only Imbert's anti-Communists can enforce that.

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Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Latin Labor Union Chief Says Reds Worsen Dominican Crisis

By VICTOR RIESEL

Certainly the FBI and the CIA are not alone in their knowledge of operational Communist cadres and espionage units inside the Dominican Republic.

There is the hemispherically influential Arturo Jauregui Hurtado, whose voice—though strong—is lost in the United States because he is headquartered in Mexico City. There, he is the leader of exactly 26.456 million workers belonging to unions throughout North and South America.

We are in steady communication, and he has authorized this column to use a statement from him which says bluntly that it is "obviously foolish" to believe there was no Communist terror inside the rebel lines.

Senor Jauregui is a friend of Juan Bosch. But Senor Jauregui, as general secretary of the powerful Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) is a realist. His view is not from the ivory tower.

Headquarters of his affiliated unions throughout Latin America and the Caribbean have been blasted by Communist action squads. His colleagues have been sniped at by hidden sharpshooters.

Thus he speaks with the voice of a man who has not found it easy to fight for democracy on the ever-shifting front lines of inner-city as well as rural guerrilla warfare.

"It would be obviously foolish not to recognize that Communist elements have intervened in the conflict and have caused a worsening of the situation by their agitation and terrorist methods and so created chaos and anarchy," says Arturo Jauregui, in the official ORIT statement dispatched from his headquarters at Apartado Postal 7039, Plaza de la Republica 30, Mexico, D.F.

"We should unite against these elements and fight to overcome them, not only in the Dominican Republic, but in all the countries of the American continent."

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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POVERTY LAUGH—"It concerns a tourist who is probably still awed, puzzled and struggling against the traumatic effect of a visit to [New York] City Hall last week. Our visitor watched in amazement as Cadillac after Cadillac pulled up to discharge well-dressed, important-looking passengers. He didn't know they were arriving for a session of the newly-composed Anti-Poverty Council. 'Gee, mister,' our man asked a cop. 'Who are those fellows?' 'Them?' was the answer, 'Oh, they're in poverty!'" —Edward O'Neil in the New York *Daily News*

□ □ □

THE ADMINISTRATION has opened a major effort to woo the hard-line Communists who control the Hungarian government. For the first time, the United States has officially entered an exhibition in the International Trade Fair which opened at Budapest in mid-May. Explains the Washington *Evening Star*: "U.S. officials believe that Hungary under Janos Kadar is ripe for President Johnson's 'building bridges' policy."

What Gimmicks Will LBJ Come Up With for 1966?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The only thing the Republicans have going for them domestically is that Lyndon Johnson is passing out favors at a rate that could be impossible to maintain over any long period of time.

In 1964 it was the income tax cut. This got the Administration past the November election and it has undoubtedly kept the boom going through the first half of 1965. The forthcoming slash in excise taxes is counted on to make people feel good for the rest of the year, especially when they get some tax money knocked off the purchase price of a car.

But, since gratitude in politics has been correctly defined as "a lively anticipation of favors to come," neither the income tax cut nor the excise tax remission is going to win the day for LBJ in 1966 and 1968. There will have to be new gimmicks.

No one doubts the infinite resourcefulness of the man from Texas when it comes to figuring out new "consensus" bait for voters. But the question is, has LBJ been dipping too far into his—or our—capital to permit a contination of his political largesse? The current tax take is good, but federal spending continues to outpace it. Theoretically, federal outlays for "poverty" cures and makework projects should taper off at the top of a boom, but our present-day Keynesians no longer believe in the so-called compensatory budget. They believe in spending all the time. But when this is the reigning philosophy, there is no cushion left for bad times.

With the tax take shrinking, you can't pile new Appalachian anti-poverty programs on old ones and new urban renewal projects on last year's federal bulldozing without ruining the value of money. The Brazilians know all about that.

The tax cuts that have made people feel good today will all be cancelled out tomorrow when the bite for Medicare takes hold. True enough, this won't hit people with full force until after the 1968 elections. But the spectre of 1969, when the combined employe and employer payroll tax is scheduled to rise to $492.80 out of the first $5,600 of income, will make it next to impossible for the Administration to figure out new Social Security "gifts" for anybody in 1967 and 1968. The cow can't be milked forever without being fed.

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GOOD GOVERNMENT, and especially the government of which every American citizen boasts, has for its objects the protection of every person within its care in the greatest liberty consistent with the good order of society, and his perfect security in the enjoyment of his earnings with the least possible diminution for public needs. —Grover Cleveland: Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1886

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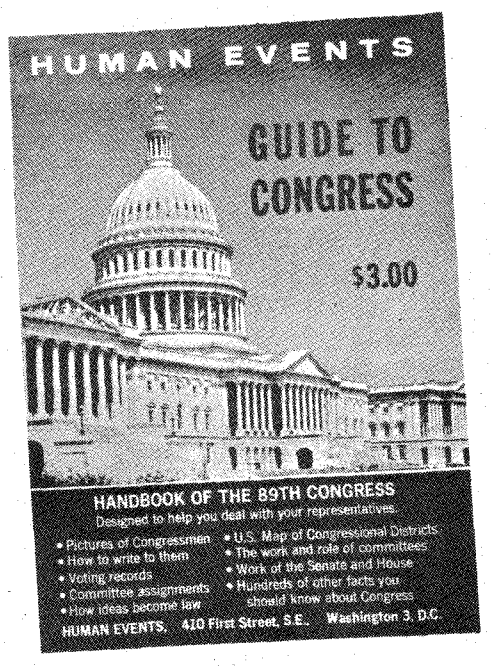
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Chamber of Commerce Head Clarifies Red China Views

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

At the recent meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the new national president pulled a boo-boo.

He was quoted as saying that "trade talks would be part of opening up communications" with the Red Chinese. This stirred up complaints from all across the country.

The chamber first made the mistake of trying to blame "bad reporting" and "misinterpretations" for the impression that had been made.

But the fact was that a new liberal current had appeared at the chamber meeting and though the more conservative elements were in the majority on the issue of Red China and called for freedom for China, the official chamber statement did call for "the U.S. government to explore steps designed to more effectively open channels of communication with the people of main-

Chamber President Robert P. Gerholz says he does not advocate trade with Communist China.

land China"—with Chamber President Robert P. Gerholz following up with his "trade talks" comment.

To the credit of the people who complained about the matter and have now gotten action, and to the credit of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a much plainer statement has now been made. The *Washington Report* of the chamber carries this item:

"Chamber President Robert P. Gerholz, president of Gerholz Community Homes, Inc., Flint, Mich., this week clarified his views on Communist China.

"In a radio interview, he expressed regret that some businessmen interpreted his remarks at an earlier news conference to mean that he advocated trade with the Chinese Reds. Such advocacy, he said, was the last thing he had in mind.

"What he was really trying to express, Mr. Gerholz said, was the prayerful hope that sometime in the future the American and Chinese people could get to know each other better. Just when that day would arrive, he added, he could not say. He said American businessmen might be able to contribute to such a better understanding.

"But he emphasized that resumption of trade with mainland China could never come until there was a radical change in the nature of the Chinese government and its attitude toward the United States and the rest of the free world . . .

"In his clarification, Mr. Gerholz noted that the Chamber staunchly opposes U.S. recognition of Communist China and the admission of the Peking regime to the United Nations. Nor does the chamber favor trade with Red China.

"The chamber also believes that a long-range U.S. objective should be the establishment of a free and democratic government on the mainland of China. Pending this development, the chamber believes the United States should continue to support the Nationalist Chinese government in Taiwan."

Now, that's better. Unfortunately, there are some business people in our country who let greed for trade dollars make them forget the bestial side of communism.

The chamber now has clearly stated its opposition to Red China and Red China trade. It would be good now if informed business people would complain about the U.S. Chamber's unsound call for U. S. "acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice without the so-called 'Connally Reservation.' "

The Connally Reservation is the very important provision that keeps the World Court from taking jurisdiction over U.S. domestic affairs. It is a needed safeguard. Perhaps if enough members of the chamber complained about the policy statement that opposes the Connally Reservation, the U.S. Chamber could be gotten back on the right track on that vital issue, too.

□ □ □

Cont'd from Page 3

Bobby Baker and Sen. John Williams

"Has Baker been stopped from doing business with defense plants? No. As I pointed out the other day, when he wanted to expand his vending machine business some of the defense contractors, apparently anxious to show the Administration on whose side they are, began doing business with him. The Defense Department about a year ago gave a confidential security clearance for Mr. Baker's company, so he can expand his vending machine business in defense installations.

"Let the average citizen try to get a security clearance under such circumstances, when he has taken the 5th Amendment, or when he is subjected to charges such as Mr. Baker. But, oh, how easily he got the clearance. It was almost automatic.

"Mr. President, if these are the standards of morality being established by the 'Great Society,' then God help America.

"Let the White House not go through the sanctimonious process of sending to Congress a code of ethics when under that code of ethics one would be fired if he did what Bobby Baker did or if he had accepted a stereo set, as was done by the one who sent the code of ethics to the Congress."

Sen. Williams may not enroll many Democrats in his crusade to focus on corruption in high places, but it doesn't look as if they can scare off his crusade with smears.

'Irons' For The Worker Who Doesn't Like The Way A Union Is Run!

IN RIGHT-TO-WORK STATES "UNION MEMBERSHIP DROPS SHARPLY WHENEVER THE UNION MAKES A DECISION WHICH IS UNPOPULAR WITH SOME MEMBERS"
?
REPEAL RIGHT-TO-WORK (SEC. 14B TAFT-HARTLEY)
TESTIMONY PRO & CON
GEORGE MEANY
CONGRESS
COMPULSORY UNION MEMBERSHIP

Courtesy Nashville *Banner*

14b Dispute

Which Is the Greater Right?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Which is the greater right? That a union be able to bargain for a "union shop" contract without interference from state laws? That a worker have the right to join or not to join a union?

Here is the crux of congressional debate over President Johnson's request to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The situation is ludicrous. On the one hand we have an Administration which can't do enough to protect, defend and extend the civil rights of the nation's Negroes. On the other hand the same Administration proposes to do legislative violence to a basic civil right—that of a worker to decide whether he will join a private organization and support it with part of his earnings.

The President's efforts to repeal 14b at this particular time are nothing if not suspect. When the Taft-Hartley Act was first passed by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, Lyndon B. Johnson, then a congressman, voted in favor of Section 14b and the law's other provisions.

When President Truman, acting at the behest of the leaders of organized labor, vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act, Rep. Johnson was among those Democrats voting to override the presidential veto.

It is an open secret in Washington that, in urging repeal of 14b, the President is paying off a political debt to the leaders of the AFL-CIO who worked so effectively for his election last year.

This repeal has been for many years the No. 1 legislative objective of the nation's labor bosses, who are unreasonably opposed to any impediment to enforced union membership. This is understandable. The greater the union membership, the greater the treasuries and power of the unions and their leaders.

Mr. Johnson's bold concession to union demands for the repeal of a law he helped to enact might be more palatable if he had marshaled some useful reasons for the request. He could have made an economic argument along the lines of the union contention that state "right-to-work" laws are not advantageous to the development of adequate wage scales. That he didn't is perhaps the best tip-off that this particular union argument won't hold water.

But the chief executive's excuse for satisfying a political debt is worse than a fallacious economic argument. He merely said that repeal of 14b is desirable to reduce "conflicts in the nation's labor policy that for several years have divided Americans in various states."

In effect, the President is saying that the way to end a dispute is to put one side out of business. Following this argument, it could be said that the way to end all labor disputes would be to pass a law that would deny the right of unions to picket and strike.

Of all the reasons President Johnson could possibly have given for his action, the one he came up with is undoubtedly the worst. There will always be conflicts dividing Americans in the various states so long as we have a free society. They are literally the lifeblood of democracy.

The way to end them is not through legislative action dictated by the White House at the political behest of special pleaders for one side in such disputes.

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Tokyo Resolution Is Sleeper in Gold Problem

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

A sleeper sneaks into our gold problem, known to churlish President Charles de Gaulle and to the central bankers of the world, our friends and foes alike. Yet the American people are in the dark; not told by Washington that all is not gold that twinkles in official U.S. Treasury reports.

The sleeper is the so-called Tokyo Resolution. It was born behind the scenes last fall when retired Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon signed a commitment of the United States at the Tokyo meeting of the International Monetary Fund.

On March 18 the Johnson Administration sponsored HR 6497 to authorize "an increase of $1.035 billion in the quota of the United States in the fund."

While 102 member nations contribute $21 billion, this raises our quota to $5 billion!

Not a word in the bill stated that 25 per cent of the new U.S. payment shall be in gold. The Tokyo Resolution, however, required these terms.

Then on April 1 the House Committee on Banking and Currency confirmed that the United States must pay one-fourth ($258.75 million) of the proposed increase in gold.

The sleeper raises the total U.S. payment into the fund to approximately $800 million.

On May 26 our gold reserve hit another new 26-year low. It fell to $14.293 billion—the lowest since Nov. 23, 1938, long before we expanded our vast financial undertakings in the world. But de Gaulle and all who look at us abroad know that even this $14.293 billion is, of itself, a false $14.293 billion.

In reality, $800 million of what's left is a slight deposit of the International Monetary Fund. It does not belong to the United States. The U.S. Treasury includes this gold in its holdings while, at the same time, the International Monetary Fund counts the same amount (correctly) as part of its own gold account.

Washington overspending and overborrowing gets votes, sure. But finally our creditors make their own appraisal of what our politicians are doing here.

The value of the dollar affects all wage earners, all pensions, savings, life insurance, retirement plans, annuities, the cost of living, all your future security—everything. Are we to see our dollar go down the drain merely because Washington's overspenders, overborrowers, overgivers refuse to let us see that the facts of economic life have caught up with them?

We are now in the seventh year of the steady gold drain. When it started in 1958 on a troublesome scale the treasury stock was $22.-787 billion. As early as 1961 this column began stating that Ft. Knox had already gone with the wind, noting that foreign creditors' net short-term claims exceeded our remaining gold reserve. And the seven-year rate would drain out every ounce by 1977.

It is simply not true, as contended by the Administration this February, that freeing the $5-billion gold backing behind our Federal Reserve Notes would show creditors that the bigger supply made it pointless to draw our gold. The effect didn't even last 30 days.

By March all had grown worse and through May 26 we've lost $1.095 billion this year. About half the loss in the first quarter went to France. But Spain also took $90 million, Britain $75.7 million, Belgium $36.6 million, Switzerland $37.5 million, the Netherlands $35 million, Austria $25 million, etc.

Creditor nations, and debtor nations that now somehow call themselves creditors (like France), will continue to draw gold instead of keeping dollars that they see becoming dollarettes as long as our politicians overspend and overborrow—and they will move with even greater alarm if Washington continues to juggle the books.

Confidence is a fragile thing. New Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler's first task is to re-establish confidence abroad by full disclosure here at home. Our creditors must see that the American people themselves are no longer being misled by their own government.

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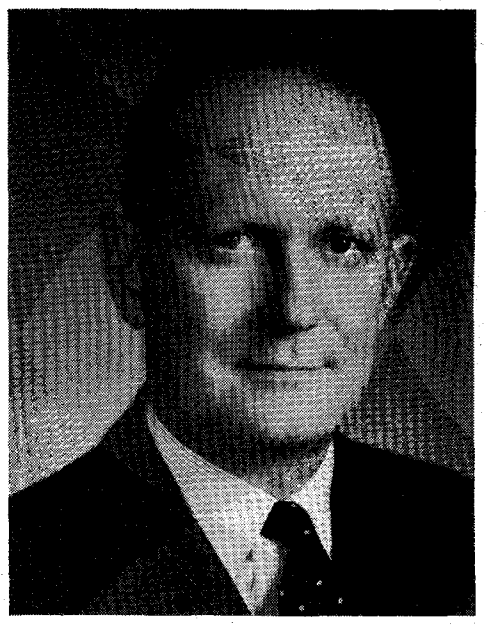

French President Charles de Gaulle, left, knows the American gold position was weakened by an agreement signed by then Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon last fall.

The Gullibility of Writers

Lowell Rejects LBJ Invitation

By RUSSELL KIRK

Mr. Robert Lowell, poet, somewhat abruptly rejected President Johnson's invitation to a White House festival of the arts, because Mr. Lowell has been persuaded that he ought not to approve of the President's policies in Viet Nam and the Caribbean. Now 20 writers and artists—who weren't invited—have sent to the White House a telegram commending Mr. Lowell's declining the invitation.

"We hope that people in this and in other countries," the telegram runs, "will not conclude that a White House arts program testifies to approval of Administration policy by members of the artistic community. To the contrary, as the weeks pass, some of us have become more and more alarmed by a stance in foreign affairs which seems increasingly belligerent and militaristic."

For the production of people who take pride in being writers and artists, this message is badly, as well as rudely, written. The wretchedness of their prose suggests that these people are fish out of water when foreign policy is in question—or perhaps that they ought not to sign a manifesto which somebody else has written for them.

U.S. Marines hit the beaches at Da Nang while some "intellectuals" refuse a White House invitation because they disagree with LBJ's firm Southeast Asia stand.

As regular readers of this column must be aware, this commentator is scarcely an unqualified admirer of the Johnson foreign policy. Nor do I deny the right of writers and artists to make their views known to the President. Although some of the signers of this telegram are frequent subscribers to manifestoes of a "no enemies to the left" character, others are worthy and sincere folk whose work your servant esteems highly.

But do these creators by pen and brush really know what they are saying, on this occasion? Might they not have done better to have spoken as does Prof. Samuel Eliot Morrison, the historian, who declares that, not having been to Viet Nam or the Dominican Republic, he prefers to refrain from reproaching the President and his better informed advisers?

In both Santo Domingo and Saigon, as this columnist has pointed out recently, present policies of the United States must be considerably amended, if they are to succeed. Yet the determination of Mr. Johnson to resist the Communists by courageous measures ought to be approved, not uncritically rebuked, by men and women of letters and arts who sincerely desire a society of order and justice and freedom.

Why does the interest of these people in American foreign policy commence only when the national adminstration has shown itself ready to resist communism by force of arms? Why were these writers and artists silent about unfortunate episodes in American foreign policy during the past several years?

Where were they when the Kennedy Administration intervened in the Congo, with weapons and a military mission, against the pro-Western government of Moise Tshombe in Katanga? They sent no telegrams to the White House then.

Where were they when American diplomats meddled disastrously with the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, in a fashion that led to the murder of President Diem? They sent no telegrams then.

I suspect that most of these ladies and gentlemen have no practical understanding of affairs in Southeast Asia and the Caribbean. They have been gulled into approving a self-righteous pacifism that regards the United States as "militaristic," but the great grim Communist powers as well-meaning emancipators, or not much worse.

And I venture to suggest that if a writer is ignorant of his topic, he would seem less of an ass if he threw his pompous telegrams into his wastebasket.

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NOT REPRESENTATIVE—Although Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) has been a steadfast critic of LBJ's Viet Nam policy, urging U.S. withdrawal from that area, Alaskans apparently think otherwise. Rep. Ralph J. Rivers (D.-Alaska) reports that only 15 per cent of his constituents want the United States to get out of Viet Nam.

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ULTRA-LIBERAL Rep. James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) has revealed that he spent $324,000 during his unsuccessful campaign for the Los Angeles mayoralty. Incumbent Samuel Yorty, who defeated Roosevelt in the April 6 primary, reported expenditures of $198,000.

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COMMIE "COALITION"—Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) has warned against a coalition government in the Dominican Republic: "I have grave apprehensions that the result will be that the coalition government will finally be found to be on the side of the Communists."

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$3.5-Billion Boondoggle

Public Works Bill Before House

The present Congress is now on the verge of passing yet another law which would not only be a billion-dollar boondoggle, but emasculate both congressional and state authority and place super-powers into the hands of the executive department.

Called the Public Works and Economic Development Act, it is actually a combination of area redevelopment programs and accelerated public works programs. The bill breezed through the Senate 71 to 12 recently (see rollcall on page 4 last week) and is now in the House Public Works Committee.

The intended object of the bill is to provide grants and loans for public works, development facilities and other projects which will aid economically depressed areas. But what will it really do?

Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) has said: "If we have learned anything from our experience with area redevelopment and accelerated public works, we know that they simply have not worked."

The Colorado lawmaker stresses the result has been government subsidized competition driving out legitimate businesses, inflated claims of creating new jobs which have never materialized, political juggling with public funds, vast numbers of highly paid government officials running about the country accomplishing little and a general waste of taxpayer money.

The discredited ARA and APW programs, says Dominick, "were just a drop in the bucket compared to this proposed program. This bill would authorize the expenditure of $2 billion over the next five years, just under Title I alone. It also would authorize the expenditure of $265 million per year indefinitely.

"Thus, the program will cost about $3.5 billion over the first five years and after that is anyone's guess." And, adds Dominick, even this does not accurately reflect the entire cost, since the adminstrative expenses are to be picked up by the Department of Commerce.

Another major concern is the vast power the measure places in the hands of the secretary of commerce. Under this bill, he will become a virtual dictator over the spigot that will control the flow of millions of taxpayers' dollars into thousands of congressional districts across the country. Since he can turn the faucet on—or shut it off—there is enormous opportunity for the executive to use these funds as a means of compelling congressmen to go along with the Administration.

Here are just a few of the powers that would be vested in the secretary of commerce:

• He is authorized to make loans and grants to states, local units of governments (counties and cities), Indian tribes and public or private non-profit organizations and associations. The secretary can disburse moneys to political subdivisions of a state, conceivably without the state's okay, thus destroying the concept of states' rights.

• The secretary is also authorized to subsidize private businesses on a vast scale. With only minimal restrictions attached, he is authorized to make loans and grants in "depressed" areas which could amount to 80 per cent of the cost of any project; he may make loans for the purchase and development of land and facilities in redevelopment areas for industrial and commercial uses; he may guarantee loans for working capital made to private borrowers by private lending institutions; and he may contract to pay annually for at least a decade, 2 per cent of the interest cost to private businesses locating in redevelopment areas. Furthermore, he can make loans which don't have to be paid back for 50 years.

• The secretary, moreover, will have the authority to designate almost any area as depressed. He can, for example, extend money to Indian reservations which the secretary believes are in the greatest need and to areas just "threatened" with sudden unemployment. Actual unemployment, it appears, does not have to be a factor.

• The bill would also authorize the secretary to designate "economic development regions" composed of contiguous states. When such regions have been designated, the secretary would then establish for each region a commission composed of one federal member and one member from each participating state in the region. The federal member would have absolute veto powers over projects recommended by the states' representatives.

In sum, this new bill can be considered another step toward increasing the power of the federal government, collapsing the authority of state governments and socializing American private enterprises.

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WHERE TAXES GO— Rep. Edward Gurney breaks down an average $500 paid in federal income taxes: $264 for national defense; $8 for education; $20 for international affairs and finance; $32 for health, labor and welfare; $22 for agriculture and farm programs; $24 for space; $14 for commerce and transportation; $18 for general movement; $27 for veterans' services and benefits; and $57 for interest payment on the public debt.

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THE ADMINISTRATION program to "conquer" heart disease, cancer and stroke could seriously damage the present system of American medical care and medical education, the American Medical Association recently warned.

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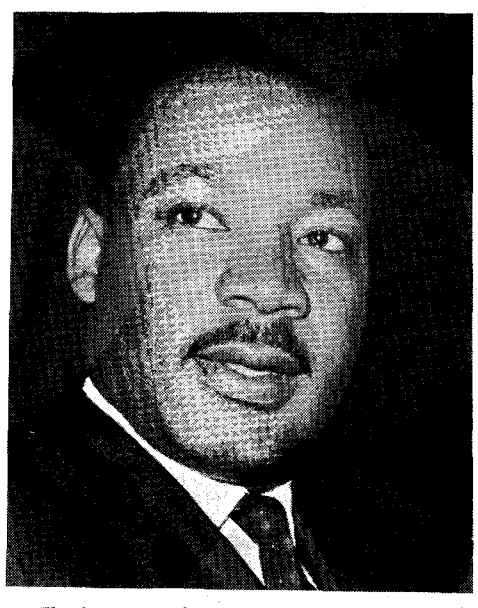

The Rev. Martin Luther King (left) and Jesse Gray are named in Gilligan's libel suit.

Lt. Thomas Gilligan

N.Y.C. Policeman Strikes Back

From the Indianapolis *Star*

A New York county grand jury last September reported that Police Lt. Thomas R. Gilligan, who had shot a 15-year-old Negro boy the previous July, was not liable for the killing.

Rioting in Harlem and in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section had been touched off after the slaying. Pamphlets appeared in Harlem carrying Gilligan's picture under the words, "Wanted for Murder."

The grand jury cleared Gilligan of any wrongdoing and refused to indict him after holding 15 sessions at which 45 witnesses gave 1,600 pages of testimony on the incident.

Gilligan's contention was that he had seen the youth with an open blade knife running into a building after a man who worked there as a superintendent. Gilligan said he identified himself as a police lieutenant, flashing his badge and revolver. He said the youth then came after him with the knife and that he, Gilligan, had fired a warning shot, but the youth kept coming. It was then that he shot the youth, Gilligan testified.

Recently, Gilligan, through his attorney, Roy M. Cohn, filed two libel suits in the New York State Supreme Court. One suit seeks $3,750 million and is directed against the Rev. Martin Luther King; James Farmer, head of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Jesse Gray, William Epton, Michael Crenovik, the Tri-Line Offset Co., Inc., the Progressive Labor Movement and the Harlem Defense Council.

The suit charges that the defendants "participated in the preparation and publication . . . of the infamous, malicious and libelous" pamphlet which held up Gilligan to "hatred, contempt, ridicule and aversion . . ."

Mr. Farmer is the defendant in the second suit. It charges that he "in the presence and hearing of other persons said that the slain youth was shot in cold blood" and that Gilligan "must be charged with murder." A second main charge in the suit is that Farmer said that "information has come to me that Thomas Gilligan is presently in a mental institution receiving treatment."

Accompanying the libel suits was a special affidavit in which Gilligan affirmed that he had never been in a mental hospital or ever treated for a mental or emotional shock.

Gilligan has also demanded that a national television network produce two films of programs that were shown last July during which Dr. King and Mr. Farmer appeared and discussed, in part, the shooting. The judge in the case directed the network to appear in court to reply to Gilligan's demand.

The suits represent an interesting and natural development. For a long time now there have been many charges made against police in the performance of their duty. Some of the charges doubtless have had validity. Many have not. We do not know how this case will turn out. However, it may be the first prominent case in which an accused policeman has struck back at alleged accusers.

Courts work two ways in this country. The person who feels he has been unjustly accused of a crime has a right to seek legal redress. The man of the law who feels he has been unjustly accused in the performance of his duty can do the same. The law is not a one-way turnstile and this is as it should be.

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COLUMNIST MARGUERITE HIGGINS quotes a Latin American diplomat as indicating the United States is headed toward a diplomatic Bay of Pigs in the Dominican Republic. He says: "Your American press and public have got to get over the idea that there are clear-cut 'good guys' and 'bad guys' down here. There are lots of shortages today in the Dominican Republic, but the biggest shortage of all is in good guys. All the politicians and generals are opportunistic so-and-so's but fortunately some of them are on your side. Some of them at least know and understand the Communist danger. Gen. Imbert may not be perfection himself, but he's on your side. The rebels are not."

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FOUR-LETTER WORD—Comedian (and Republican) Bob Hope has joined the hassle between LBJ's Viet Nam critics and supporters of the Administration's foreign policy. Said Hope of recent sit-ins: "When students had something to say they wanted to stand up and be counted. Now they want to sit down and be carried." The comedian said he may visit the University of California at Berkeley. "The only four-letter word they haven't used on that campus is soap," Hope remarked.

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GIVING PEOPLE PRIDE in accomplishment and a regular income they earn is a much more lasting way to cure poverty than any dole.—From the *Fairfield Ledger*.

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Message to Graduating Seniors:

Survival of Individual Freedom Is at Stake

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Members of the graduating class, parents, friends:

Some years ago a Virginia philosopher, having nothing better to do that spring, worked out a formula for the duration of commencement addresses. The rule is pi times the size of the class, divided by the heat in the hall. There are 300 of you high school seniors here tonight, and the temperature is close on to 90. This won't take long.

Just long enough to dwell on one idea: Freedom. Questions of religious belief to one side, it's the biggest idea on earth. And it's in trouble.

Most of you seniors were born in 1946 or 1947. Some of your fathers had just returned from World War II. They had been in Europe or the Pacific fighting for freedom. It seems a corny phrase—"fighting for freedom"—but it was literally true.

They went through the awful violence and destruction of an agonizing war in defense of the concept of freedom. Perhaps they couldn't have defined this concept very precisely, but they had a sure sense of freedom's value and they understood its jeopardy. On the Monday morning after Pearl Harbor, your fathers were outside the recruiting stations, standing in lines a block long, eager to go to war.

The danger to freedom was palpable then. Recently you have seen some of the old pre-war films on television—the arrogant face of the German *Fuehrer*, the goose-stepping Nazi troops, the arms upraised like a field of wheat, the voices that cried "*Heil* Hitler!" The menace was real and visible and easily understood.

Here at home, in the period just before the war, there were some murmurings about the growth of "big government" and the risk this might entail in loss of personal freedom. We were edging into crop controls, Social Security, minimum wages and the TVA; but many of these new federal laws, such as the prohibition on child labor, had wide popular support. Some of them were thought to be temporary measures, necessitated by the depression. The role of government wasn't pervasive. We didn't worry too much about it.

The situation is quite different now. The disturbing hypothesis emerges from various student surveys that many of you young people have only a foggy notion of what freedom is all about.

One poll found that a fourth of you approved police searches without warrants; 41 per cent of you were agreeable to cancelling freedom of the press; more than half of you believed in government ownership of banks, railroads and steel companies, and 84 per cent of those polled rejected the whole idea of patriotism as an important part of their lives. The value of freedom isn't sensed as surely today as it was, say, 30 years ago.

And abroad, the danger is not so visible, not so dramatically clear. The face of the enemy is not contorted in passion; it is more often wreathed in smiles. Conquest is not sought in a shattering roar of tanks, but in the soft invasion of ideas. The war on freedom is never declared, but it is waged insidiously by night and day. There are no lines around recruiting stations now.

Here at home, the survival of individual freedom is in critical jeopardy—in large part because the jeopardy is not widely understood and because the picture is confusing. Certain freedoms expand—most notably, the freedom of the American Negro—but other freedoms contract.

The farmer is less free, and the businessman less free; and if Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act is repealed, the laboring man will be less free. The states and cities find their decision-making power drained off on tides of "federal aid."

The forces of urbanization draw us more closely together and personal responsibility slips away. With every year that passes, the surface of our society, in Tocqueville's phrase, increasingly is covered by "a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate."

This is the big job for you seniors, to recapture the meaning and value of a free society, and some of us wish you were better equipped for the task. Now, if the band will strike up "Pomp and Circumstance," you can come get your diplomas. And good luck.

(Correction: "In a recent column [Human Events, *May 29, page 8*], *I made two errors of fact as a consequence of misinterpreting some material dealing with the pay of postal workers. I said the typical mail carrier starts in Grade 5 of the Postal Field Service and may anticipate 12 annual raises. Permit me to express my regrets and to correct this. The typical carrier starts in Grade 4 and may anticipate 12 raises over a period of 21 years. Under Mr. Johnson's latest pay proposal, PFS 4 would range in 12 steps from $5,150 to $7,020. The table is headed 'Per annum rates and steps,' but many postal workers have said this is in error."—James J. Kilpatrick)*

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

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MORE SUGAR—Philadelphia bricklayers have a coffee break written into their new contract. And with a wage rate going up to $5.95 an hour, they've also written in some cream.—By Nathan Nielsen in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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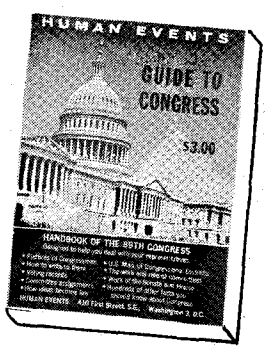

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Anatomy of a Political Murder

Because she had worked for the FBI, Mrs. Marion Miller was the victim of a liberal smear campaign in the recent Los Angeles city board of education election.

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Sticks and stones can only break your bones, but—despite the childhood adage—names can kill you politically. The Big Lie, incessantly repeated, is the most deadly weapon in the gentle art of character assassination. The listener at length concludes that where there's so much smoke there must be fire—and that the accused is the arsonist.

In the 1964 campaign, the Republican candidate may have had a program; but the decibels of the Big Lie were so noisy that few ever heard what he had to say. So successful was the technique that the GOP, which nominated Barry Goldwater, grandson of a Jewish immigrant, and Bill Miller, a Catholic, is actually denounced as the party of the WASPS. And not in spite of, mind you, but because of those very nominees! If you don't gag at that, you have passed the acid test: you may now don your dunce cap and join the intellectuals.

The trick works at local levels, too. Here in Los Angeles, Mrs. Marion Miller, a real estate agent who ran for the board of education, was defeated by Rev. James Jones, a Negro pastor. Mrs. Miller has a school program and, from the very beginning of the campaign, tried to get Mr. Jones to debate her on it. Unfortunately, the pastor had previous commitments and no confrontation remotely resembling a debate took place until a few days before election.

But though the minister was undoubtedly occupied with good works that prevented him from discussing the issue with Mrs. Miller, he had a lot of things going for him. You see, Mrs. Miller had a past: and it caught up with her.

As many of you know—through her book and the television play made from it—Mrs. Miller, at the request of the FBI, kept a close watch on a Communist front, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, from October, 1950, to March, 1955. She posed as a loyal Marxist so well she was inducted into the party and rose high in its local ranks and so was able to keep government agencies alert to its plans. For this long, difficult and at times dangerous assignment she has been publicly praised by J. Edgar Hoover "for the patriotic service she rendered to her country"; lauded by then-President Eisenhower and Dick Nixon; and acclaimed by so many state officials and civic organizations that the listing would take up more than this column.

There are, however, two ways of looking at this sort of thing, and the Jones partisans eagerly presented the other side. The Communist press, quite naturally, opposed Mrs. Miller, but one can hardly blame the minister for that, even though he never disavowed their support.

But the Reds used some phraseology that his non-Communist supporters found useful. To the Commies, Mrs. Miller was not a patriot, but an "informer," a word so dirty in its connotation that even the Free Speech Movement has not used it on banners.

A paper circulated mainly in the Jewish sections quoted the Talmud as anathematizing any Jew who informs on his fellows to the enemy. Since the Talmud comes before Karl Marx—at least chronologically—that dictum could have referred only to one who betrayed a co-religionist to the leaders of a pogrom—that unique lynching festival to which the Jews were subject from time to time. But the pious article piously did not reveal that Mrs. Miller, who is Jewish, was exposing the enemies—Jew and Gentile alike—of her beloved country.

And the local chapter of COPE warned in a pamphlet: "The Los Angeles school system is no place for one of Hoover's cloak-and-dagger McCarthyistic sleuths. Her vote on the board will give the ultra-right a majority. Then the book-burning will begin!"

A letter to the Los Angeles *Times* saw the danger: "Her chief claim to fame is she was once a counter-spy. Could it be that, elected, she would engender a climate where the board spied on the principal, they on the teachers, the latter on the students, they on the janitors and the last on the board?"

This from a committee for Rev. Jones—he had 116 such bodies behind him: "389,000 minority children deserve to have representation on our school board," a sentiment echoed by the ubiquitous Dr. Martin Luther King. I had thought this an election for a board member who would represent all the children and was happy to be corrected.

Ministers and rabbis got into the act. So did the AFL-CIO official publication and even *Overture*, the monthly of the Musicians Union. I have three letters from dissident members of the latter, incidentally, asking what they can do to stop their dues being used to attack anti-Communists. Don't these men believe in democracy?

Anyway, it all had a happy ending. The Liberal Mafia did its work well and Los Angeles had been saved from having a patriotic woman on the board. But she was, after all, only a tool. Let's see now if we can't get rid of the real Super-Duper Snooper, J. Edgar Hoover himself.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

LOS ANGELES TIMES PHOTO

Mrs. Miller listens to election returns.

Value of Dollar Must Be Maintained

Federal Reserve Head Issues Strong Warning

By ALICE WIDENER

From time to time, advocates of funny money taunt believers in sound money with the boast, "Look at our booming economy with unprecedented prosperity! You see how wrong you've been about the plight of the dollar and danger of our gold losses?"

With stock market prices, corporate profits and the gross national product mounting higher and higher, the sound money men (and women too) have had little support from politicians bearing heavy responsibility for the integrity of our currency. On the first day of this month, however, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William McChesney Martin Jr., sounded a loud and clear warning to Americans about U.S. fiscal and monetary affairs.

Mr. Martin warned "we must avoid any impairment of the value and status of the dollar," and he stated, "If the dollar is to continue to play its role in international commerce, world confidence in its stability must be fully maintained; the world must be convinced that we are resolved to eliminate the long-persistent deficit in our balance of international payments."

What might happen if we don't guard our dollar, or rather, continue to undermine it?

Mr. Martin didn't mince a single word in his reply to this all-important question. He said we might face another Great Depression. And in reply to those who doubt this because they believe they have everything economic under much better control in 1965 than in 1929 and 1931, Mr. Martin retorted that "we always prefer to believe what we want to be true rather than what we should know to be true."

The Federal Reserve Board chairman wants us to keep our gold and maintain its steady price through the classical policies of tightening credit and increasing interest rates. Opposed to him are the "new economics" theorists. Typical of their attitude is that of Dr. Fritz Machlup, economics professor at Princeton University. In April he told the International Finance subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, ". . . we ought to give up our gold not with reluctance and apprehension, but with an air of friendly nonchalance."

William McChesney Martin Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board

Heigh ho, away with our gold we go!

Other less nonchalant professors, politicians and press commentators are attacking President de Gaulle for draining our gold away from us. Actually, main attention is paid to this for two principal reasons: (1) De Gaulle takes most; (2) he talks loudest about it. But many others of our allies take somewhat less while saying nothing. Last year, West Germany encashed more of her assets into gold than did France; also West Germany quietly took more than half as much as France from us.

During 1964, the French took approximately $405 million in gold from us and West Germany took approximately $225 million, though nobody seems to have paid attention to the latter. During the first three months of this year, the important figures on allies' gold withdrawals from us are (in millions, round figures): France, $483; Spain, $90; United Kingdom, $76; Belgium, $40; Switzerland, $38; Netherlands, $35; Austria, $25; and Turkey, $10. Thus it may be seen that seven friendly nations already have converted a total of $320 million into gold in 1965, or approximately two-thirds as much as France.

During the recent election campaign in Belgium (in which sound money men gained 28 seats in Parliament, while the Socialists lost 20), candidate E. de la Vallee Poussin wrote an article of much interest to Americans for the Brussels newspaper *Le Soir*.

"It is an error to confound Election Day with Christmas," said Mr. Vallee Poussin. "Santa Claus politics are in the long run the ruin of parliamentary governments and of political liberty. Parties promising too much should inspire voters' disdain, not confidence. For, either the party loses and since they are not in power their promises are dead letters; or else they attain governmental power, and then, watch out for the cash box, because if they have promised people the moon they will be obliged to try to give it to them. Then the whole nation pays the price."

Now that the chairman of our Federal Reserve Board has, in effect, warned us to watch out for our cash box or else the whole nation might pay the price of a Great Depression, it would be most unwise for our funny money men to keep on taunting the sound money ones. Something could happen that would wipe the silly grin off the funny money men's faces.

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THE SOVIETS MELLOWING?—At a recent Kremlin ceremony, Communist party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev praised Stalin's efforts in World War II and his name was greeted with apparently spontaneous applause from Soviet officials. Stalin's name, moreover, has been appearing in the Soviet press recently with much favorable comment. The reappearance at the same ceremony of Soviet war hero Marshal Zhukov—downgraded when Khrushchev came to power—indicates to Kremlinologists that the military may be emerging as the real force in post-Khrushchev Russia.

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Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, left, notes a "strange apathy over farm legislation." American Farm Bureau President Charles Shuman, right, suggests that government farm control programs are nearing their end.

Are We Nearing the End Of Farm Control Programs?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The "strange apathy" over new farm legislation which Secretary of Agriculture Freeman bemoaned several weeks ago continues to prevail in Congress and most of the rural areas. It was in mid-April that Freeman alluded to the remarkable disinterest and disunity in connection with the Johnson Administration's new subsidy and crop control proposals. "If you bicker between yourselves as farm organizations," he told farm leaders in seeking to rally support, "the urban American and those who represent him in the Congress will say 'a plague on all your houses, we simply don't have time to straighten this mess up.' "

At that time the secretary asserted that if the vote were taken then, Congress would not extend a single commodity program. There is no evidence that it would today, either, weeks after the Administration's bills and many other proposed farm measures have been dropped into the legislative hopper. Indeed, the bickering, such as it is, may have increased.

The Administration seeks to extend subsidy and crop control programs for feed grains, wheat, rice and wool with some changes that would give the secretary of agriculture much broader authority to fix prices and dictate plantings. The Administration also is asking for a large-scale land retirement program to pay farmers to idle productive crop acres.

The American Farm Bureau Federation maintains its long-time opposition to such programs on the ground that they would give the government more power to rule agriculture and move away from the competitive market system. But now the National Farmers Union, long a stalwart supporter of Democratic farm policies, has taken to criticizing some of the proposals, particularly rice and land retirement, and the union also is indignant over the President's proposal to cut the Agriculture Department budget. The National Grange supports the land retirement proposal "only with the greatest reluctance."

Because of widespread opposition, the Administration's proposed rice program is considered dead. Its wool proposals may also die for lack of support. Growers, textile manufacturers, exporters and other segments of the cotton industry disagree so widely on what to do about this important commodity that the Administration did not submit a cotton bill of its own, although it subsequently indorsed, with some suggested modifications, one sponsored by Rep. Harold D. Cooley (D.-N.C.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee.

Some kind of wheat, feed grain and cotton legislation probably will be enacted eventually, although Congress may not get around to it until late summer.

Two years ago Dr. Don Paarlberg, Purdue University economist and former economic adviser to President Eisenhower, offered the hypothesis that government intervention in the production and pricing of farm products had passed its high tide in this country.

He noted that after 30 years and the expenditure of $25 billion, commodities which have enjoyed the most federal protection (wheat, cotton, tobacco) were precisely the ones still in greatest price and surplus difficulties, while markets had expanded for live stock products, fruits and vegetables produced and marketed under farmers' own decisions.

Now Charles B. Shuman, Farm Bureau president, suggests that government farm control programs are nearing their end. Shuman does not set a deadline for their demise, and he does not believe they will end this year, but he is confident the end is in sight in the next few years. It is his contention that the vast majority of farmers themselves are apathetic over farm programs because they realize they haven't worked.

Certainly the usual clamor over farm legislation is missing this year. If it signifies the beginning of the end, perhaps Congress can be persuaded to devote some attention to the best way of getting the government gradually out of the business of pricing and controling food production.

□ □ □

PRESIDENT JOHNSON plans to spend more time in Texas. Opinions vary on whether it's possible for him to spend too much time there.—By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

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Industry Made Scapegoat

Business 'Cautioned' on Prices

From the San Diego *Union*

The heavy hand of federal intervention was evident recently as a top government economist "cautioned" businessmen in strong terms not to raise the prices of their goods.

Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council for Economic Advisers, added that if the businesses do not heed his "caution" they risk bringing on restrictive federal controls.

The message was plain—so plain that the stock market immediately showed a substantial dip as a worried public pondered the next possibility.

Mr. Ackley has a legitimate fear that price increases will bring on an inflationary trend which will inhibit the economic growth contemplated by the government. The increases also could contribute to further increases in the U.S. deficit in balance of payments if American goods become priced out of foreign markets.

We take strong exception, however, to the economist's contention that businessmen are solely responsible for the increase in prices of manufactured goods.

Nor is he on very solid ground in insisting that the economy must follow a graph plotted by economists on Capitol Hill.

No amount of talk can hide the fact that the heartbeat of the private U.S. economy is the profit motive. If the costs of labor and materials rise, businessmen have no alternative but to raise prices to keep profit margins. Economic health and expansion depend on those profits.

Strangely, Mr. Ackley bared the federal knuckles at businessmen at the same time he was saying the government does not have the ability or intent to determine if the price increases are justified.

Aside from the reasons mentioned, the federal government obviously is worried that the economic boom will slow down, which in turn will crimp its welfare and poverty programs. Mr. Ackley hinted as much when he said the economic growth will decline in the months ahead.

If the economic advisers really want to get to the roots of the inflationary dangers they do not have to go far from Capitol Hill. They could well study the continued government intervention in business through "stimulation" by excessive spending, continued deficits that undermine confidence and the easy-money policies that are leading to record private debts and business failures.

In another field, American housewives who are paying more for food are also in an inflationary trend resulting directly from government policies in agriculture.

If the government persists in its intervention into things better left to basic private economic laws the result might well be 180 degrees opposite from what its charts and graphs show.

□ □ □

WILL TO WORK—"The tragedy of relief is that it takes away from people the drive to work. When a person is capable of earning only $45, he may be all too willing to accept $45 from public assistance for doing nothing. I have the deepest sympathy for the good mother struggling to bring up her children on a welfare grant, and for the father who wants but cannot find work. But I deplore a system that regards the handing out of checks as its prime function, that subsidizes the lazy and immoral home with the taxpayer's dollar."—Mrs. Juanita Kidd Stout, the first elected Negro woman judge in the United States, in an article in the *Reader's Digest* condensed from the Philadelphia *Sunday Bulletin Magazine.*

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THIN-SKINNED—Associated Press Capitol correspondent Jack Bell writes in his new book, *The Johnson Treatment*, that LBJ "couldn't stand criticism" while majority leader of the Senate. "He had a skin thinner than a Texas papershell pecan. . . . A critical report could set him off for days."

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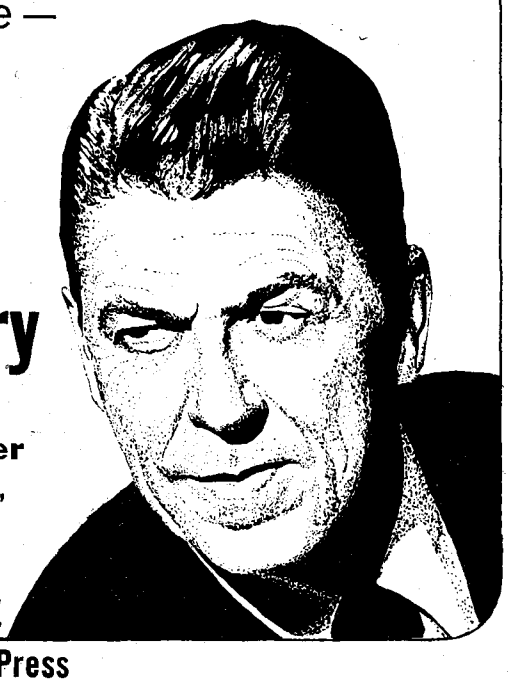

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'President's Club': The New Elite

From the Allen-Scott Report

It pays to be a member of the exclusive "President's Club."

A paid-up membership—$1,000 or more annual contribution to the Democratic party—entitles its holder to a special foreign and domestic policy briefing in Washington this summer.

Democratic National Treasurer Richard Maguire is notifying the club's 4,000 members that upon payment of their 1965 dues an invitation will be sent to attend a White House seminar in August.

According to Maguire, President Johnson, Cabinet members and Central Intelligence Agency Director Raborn will be on hand to brief the "club" members. The big contributors will be given first-hand information on all crises—Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, or others that may develop.

Democratic National Committee moguls are beamingly boasting they "cleared more than $500,000" at the recent fund-raising dinner of the New York branch of the $1,000 "club."

Johnson went to New York to personally attend this Saturday night affair, from which the press and non-contributors were excluded. Party insiders claim "more than 500" were on hand for the President's off-the-record talk.

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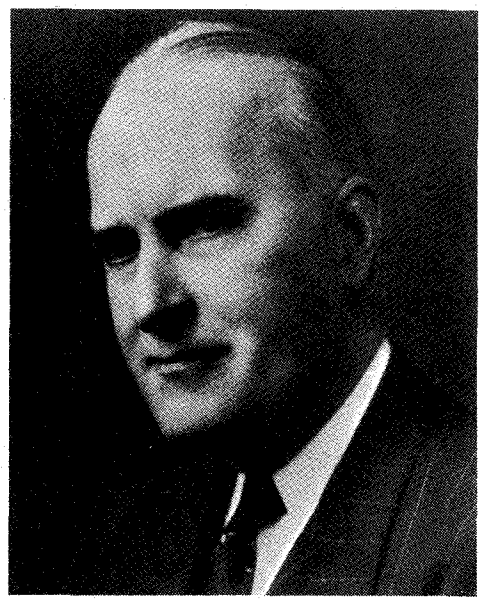
Security Precautions Lacking At State Dept., Aide Admits

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A top-ranking State Department official has conceded that security precautions are virtually non-existent at the Department's sprawling headquarters here.

In testimony before a House Appropriations subcommittee, Deputy Assistant Secretary G. Marvin Gentile stated bluntly that "we have no physical security whatsoever within the confines of the building.

"One can come in the building at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, have complete access to the whole building and can walk out at 8 o'clock the next morning," Gentile said. "We do not have adequate protection, adequate shake-



Rep. John Rooney (D.-N. Y.) leads House subcommittee on State Department affairs.

down of the building or control of the facility after hours." And what is more, Gentile said, too many State Department employes take a blase attitude toward security. Classified and top-secret documents are left in the open and safe doors are often left ajar.

State Department security is even worse in foreign lands. There is not an embassy anywhere behind the Iron Curtain that is not thought to have been "bugged" by Soviet-bloc intelligence.

The U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, Poland, for instance, was completed at a cost of $1.6 million in 1963. It was not until October 7 of last year that State Department officials learned the entire embassy had been wired with microphones.

State Department security experts quite literally tore down the embassy walls in the search for monitoring equipment installed by the Communists. The "counter-audio" operations cost the State Department more than $12,000 and the Polish government will shortly be billed for the expense. There is little likelihood, however, that payment will be received.

The American embassy in Moscow is regularly discovered to have been bugged. "We have been finding microphones in that building as long as I can remember," says Rep. John Rooney, the New York Democrat whose subcommittee probes State Department activities.

Microphones were discovered last year in the American embassy at Belgrade, Yugoslavia. "We are quite certain they were put in when the building was fixed for occupancy in 1953," the State Department told the Rooney subcommittee.

Note: Secretary Gentile revealed that 46 State Department employes were dismissed last year as security risks. Fourteen were fired for a variety of reasons: immoral conduct, excessive drinking, falsification of government records, misuse of funds, and psychiatric disorders.

The other 32 were dismissed for homosexuality. One of those axed was a high-salaried, career foreign service officer. The transcript of Gentile's testimony shows the following exchange:

Rooney: Were the circumstances in any of these 32 cases such that you found them in contact with foreign nationals?

Gentile: In some cases, yes.

Rooney: How many?

Gentile: I cannot tell you the exact number. Many times it involves both Americans and foreign nationals.

* * *

A radio "network" with FM stations in four cities has hired an accused Communist as its Moscow correspondent. The network is the Pacifica Foundation, a non-profit, tax-exempt, educational outfit.

Pacifica, which operates stations in Berkeley, San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York, was the subject of a Senate probe two years ago. The network's new Moscow correspondent is William Mandel, a California writer whose hostile testimony helped touch off the San Francisco riots against the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1960.

Mandel is not the only leftist to hold a position of authority with Pacifica. The network's New York outlet, WBAI, recently hired Joanne Grant as its new director. Miss Grant was identified as a Communist in 1960 congressional hearings. She took the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

During a 1963 investigation of Pacifica, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee called the foundation's executive vice president, Jerome Shore, who took the Fifth Amendment more than one hundred times.

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DISENCHANTED—Rep. Paul Fino, liberal New York Republican, has announced that he can no longer support foreign aid. "Today," he says, "I am saying that my disenchantment has spread to the entire aid program that has forfeited my respect." Aid to Communist nations, he said, has been an abject failure. The recipients—including Poland and Yugoslavia—have shown "no swerving from communism," he said.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"If we turn to Uncle Sam to solve every one of our personal problems, we must inevitably turn over much of our precious independence of action and freedom of choice."—Rep. Bob Wilson (R.-Calif.)

Bracero Crisis

By REP. O. CLARK FISHER (D.-Tex.)

Recently, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz told a House committee that the Administration would be sympathetic toward congressional efforts to extend the minimum wage to farm laborers. This move, long favored by labor unions, was promptly boosted by the liberal Washington Post. *Forcing farmers and ranchers to pay minimum wages, with extra for overtime, in the face of reduced income by employers, is highly controversial. It has always been recognized that it is manifestly unfair to impose the minimum wage laws on agriculture, when hours are uncertain, work seasonal, and ability to pay minimums often made difficult if not impossible because of uncertain prices of commodities. Driving wages upward can be expected to force more people out of work and add to unemployment. More inflation.*

Unfair Competition

By SEN. WALLACE BENNETT (R.-Utah)

For many years I have been increasingly concerned about the expanding role of government competition with private enterprise. In an attempt to prevent the government from engaging in any activities with private business, I have introduced in this and in past Congresses legislation designed to get the government out of many business activities and to keep it out. My bill would establish a carefully framed policy to phase out gradually and terminate existing federal activities which compete with the free enterprise system. Unfortunately, the Administration, rather than ending programs which compete with free enterprise, on balance, the competition is being sharply increased. It is my feeling that it is both unfair and unjust for the federal government to compel private companies to pay taxes that subsidize federal competitors against themselves and perhaps put them out of business.

Because of the opposition of the Administration to this proposal, hearings have never been held on the subject and consequently the bill has died with each ending of a congressional session. Once again I urge that immediate hearings be held on my proposal so that the bill can start through the legislative mill.

Foreign Aid

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

What we have spent on foreign aid —$130 billion since the advent of foreign aid—is unconscionable; it is not within the capacity of the American people to spend on foreign aid as they have been spending and will be called upon to spend this year. We make big contributions to the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations, and that money—a lot of it—finds its way into Communist hands. For instance, I'm trying to get from the State Department now the confirmation, and I'm convinced that it's true, that UNESCO money has been used to hire Communist teachers in Africa. The very fact that we're fighting almost single-handedly in Viet Nam, outside of the Vietnamese themselves, is proof positive that we are not getting help for the money we have expended over the world.

Coffee Agreement

By REP. ED GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

In 1962 our State Department entered an agreement creating an International Coffee Council to establish coffee quotas for exporting countries and also regulating coffee purchases by importing countries. The Senate ratified the treaty in 1963. Last year the House rejected a bill to participate in the agreement. On May 12 by a vote of 300-97 the House passed a bill to enable the U.S. to carry out its obligation under the agreement. Having engaged in three decades of domestic agricultural price fixing and crop control and regulation costing the taxpayers scores of billions of dollars, forcing hundreds of thousands of small farmers out of business, lining the pockets of big farmer operators like Billie Sol Estes, failing always to solve the "farm problem," we now extend this folly of price fixing and control for the first time on a global scale. Hold your hats, here we go. Under the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and "Great Society" farm programs, nothing succeeds like failure. Moral, let the world in on this bonanza. Incidentally, housewives, expect higher coffee prices.

Over-Priming

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N. Y.)

I cannot resist a word about what has been referred to as "economic brinkmanship." Everyone likes prosperity and good times. Some optimists are saying that government can now control the business cycle by applying the right stimulus here, the right braking action there. But should we use up all the government's stimulating devices during a period of prosperity? If you have a massive deficit during good times, what can you do when business turns down—increase the deficit even more? Can't you overstimulate an economy by too much government elixir, if it's already high? Is anybody thinking about the hangover? I still think it's the long term that really counts, not just the next election.

Loans to Reds

By REP. FRANK BOW (R.-Ohio)

I am altogether too familiar with how the plans of this government can change in favor of appeasing our enemies as soon as Congress and the people relax their vigilance. The scandalous wheat deals with the Soviet Union are still fresh in mind. In my opinion, the Administration should welcome any congressional action that might strengthen its hand in dealing with the Nassers and Sukarnos of this world. These are men who fought their way to control the hard way and the only thing they understand is power. They have only contempt for weakness, and they are convinced that we are weak, not in military or economic strength, but in determination to protect our own interests and those of the free world. Recently, an amendment to deny U.S. loans to Latin American labor unions controlled by Communists was defeated. It was argued that the law provides that loans may be made only to "free" labor unions, and this means the same thing. Perhaps it does to some people, but I have been here awhile and have seen how legislative intent is interpreted by some of our State Department officials. If they want to loan money to a Communist union, they might interpret the law to mean "free" from smallpox. When it comes right down to it, I do not know why we are financing such loans at all.

Bad Subsidies

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

A few economists are nursing the idea that the answer to soaring welfare costs and high unemployment would be found in having the government subsidize firms to employ those whose abilities are too low to earn a living. There are people who have such slight ability that an employer cannot afford to hire them, as they will not produce enough to even cover the minimum wage fixed by law; therefore, they do not get hired, or, if they do, they are soon fired. Some economists believe a payroll subsidy would cost less than welfare. This is the way new government programs start. Somebody gets an idea for a new subsidy, and away we go.

Confusion Reigns in Washington

By REP. CRAIG HOSMER (R.-Calif.)

This city is one of contrasts and contradictions and nowhere is this more apparent than in government.

• Congress has lowered income taxes in the name of giving Americans more of their own money to spend. It also is raising taxes on their incomes, in the name of Social Security.

• The country is fighting a war in Viet Nam and simultaneously repealing "wartime" excise taxes because we are not at war.

• Our prosperity is the highest in the nation's history and we are embarking on a massive anti-poverty campaign.

• Secretary McNamara is sending troops to the Dominican Republic, cutting back our reserve forces and closing military bases.

• We face a "long hot summer" of discontent and violence in the streets of our cities and a gigantic domestic "Peace Corps" is being formed.

• Beauty has become a national objective and yet we are constructing some of the ugliest public buildings in the world.

• The poverty program to help the poor is lining the pockets of its well-to-do administrators.

• The Administration wants to spend $3 billion for foreign aid in the name of friendship while Uncle Sam is badgered by over a hundred nations at the United Nations and "Yankee Go Home" signs are posted on five continents.

• The Pentagon spends $50 billion a year for an Army, Navy and Air Force and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency clamors for total and complete disarmament.

• The President calls for pay raises for government civil servants and disapproves the size of military pay boosts needed to get many service family incomes above the poverty program level.

• We plead with other countries not to develop nuclear weapons and, at the same time, double the overseas stockpiles of our own.

• LBJ cuts duty-free tourist allowances to save $50 million in gold outflow and Gov. Pat Brown of California seeks authority to spend almost half that amount abroad on equipment for that state's Feather River water project.

• Mountains of surplus crops are stored around the country while the Agriculture Department spends millions of dollars a year learning how to produce more of the same.

Rep. Hosmer lists some of the contradictions in government policy.

• In order to maintain a "sound dollar," we are no longer minting them.

• "Togetherness" and "interdependence" with Communist countries is being urged at the State Department while Russia expels our diplomats and we expel hers.

• NASA is exploring outside space and the National Science Foundation is exploring underneath the seas.

• Tobacco crops receive government support; cigarette packages will bear health hazard labels; the National Institutes of Health carry on a vast anti-cancer crusade.

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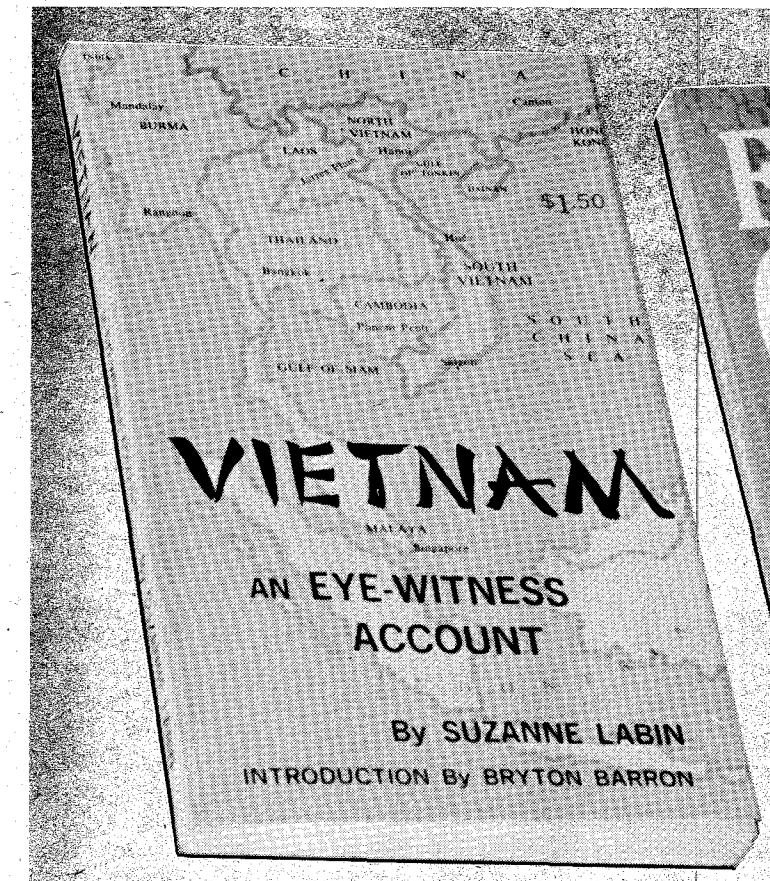

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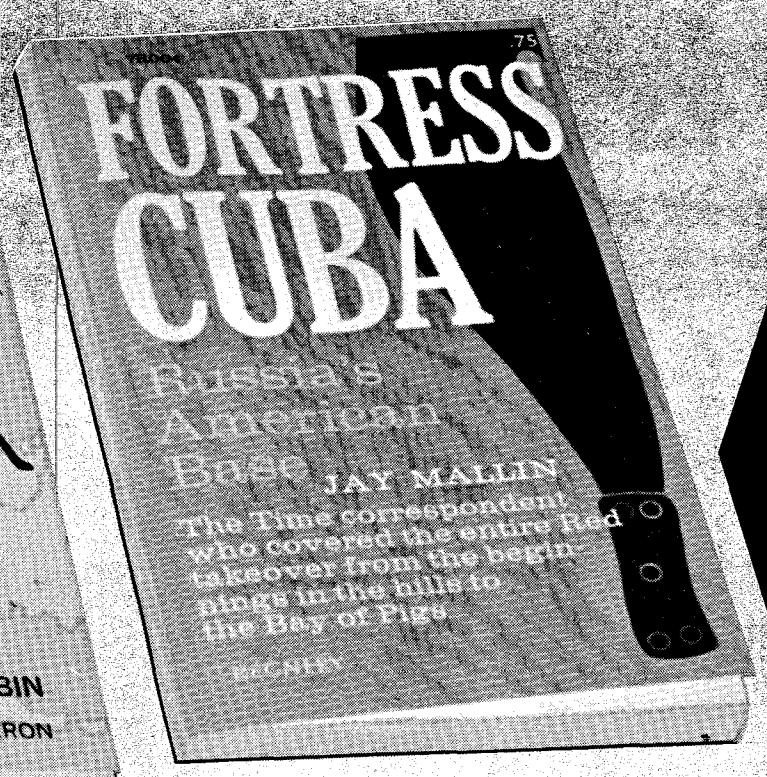

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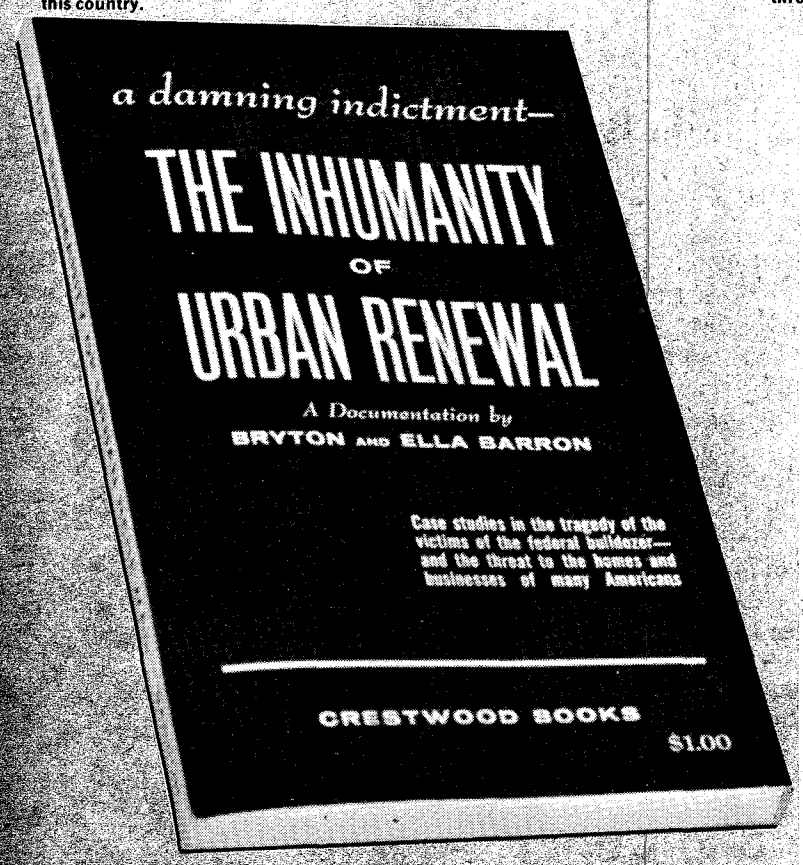

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